MENTAWEI RELIGIOUS CULT

BY

EDWIN M. LOEB

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CONTENTS

PAGE

Introduction 186
Founding of a village 191
The making of a new *uma* 197
Punen for the founding of the new *uma* 207
Various *punen* held in the *uma* 218
Punen to choose a priest 218
Punen at death of priest 218
Punen for a burnt *uma* 220
Punen held when a coconut tree falls 220
Punen for refuse which has drifted off 221
Punen for a ghost which comes back 221
Punen for a drowned person 223
A fight between the ghosts and the fetish poles 224
The visit of the seer 225
The division of the *uma* 229
Punen lepa: after a death from crocodiles or murder 229
Punen pasirokdrang: to straighten the village 230
Punen lagai: for the village 232
Punen masiaro sikatai: to carry off evil 232
Punen patiti: for tattooing 233
Punen totopoi: for windmills 233
Punen kukuret: to chase monkeys 234
Punen abak rau lepa: to bathe boats 234
Mentawei taboos 234
Restrictions on married men 235
Restrictions on the priest 235
Restrictions during pregnancy and childbirth 236
Restrictions during *punen* 237
Restrictions at time of house building 238
Restrictions while making boats 238
Restrictions while making fields 239
Restrictions on the rivers and on the sea 240
Restrictions on the hunt 240
Restrictions at the time of a death 241
Mentawei omens (*tadroat*) 243
Explanation of plates 246

PLATES

Following page 247.

69. Pageh material culture.
70. Material culture, interior of communal house, war boat.
71. Village, *rusuk* houses, communal house.
72. Women bathing, girl, priest.
73. Young men, xylophone, carrying chicken feed.

INTRODUCTION

The Mentawei islands lie 100 degrees east of Greenwich, and extend from the equator 5 degrees south. They belong to a general group of islands lying west of Sumatra, of which Nias is the more important to the north, Engano to the south. The Mentawei islands are at present under the Dutch government.

I passed five months in residence in the Pageh islands (the southernmost of the Mentawei group) from March to July, 1926. My work was done under the auspices of the University of California, where I held the position of Research Associate. The funds for the expedition were donated by the Guggenheim brothers of New York City. I have also to thank the various officials of the Dutch government who aided me in every possible way, and especially the resident German missionary, Herr Börger, without whose aid in translating, and other assistance, the present work would not have been possible. My entire stay and investigation was made in the Pagehs, and the following account, unless otherwise stated, refers to this portion of the Mentawei group.

The present paper deals with the religious cult or *punen* system of Mentawei.[1] In order to enable the reader to follow the account as given by and translated from the original native sources, I will begin with a brief summary of the more important aspects of Mentawei culture.

The natives of the Mentawei islands belong to the Malayan race, with but a trace of Veddoid influence. The latter gives rise to occasional wavy hair types. Culturally, compared to other Malayan peoples, the Mentawei islanders belong at the bottom of the ladder. Because of their isolation, the waves of early Hindu and later Mohammedan influence left them untouched. For this reason Hindu traits which were introduced into the Malay archipelago and the Philippines are absent in Mentawei. The more important of these traits are: rice culture, the smelting of iron, pottery, cotton and cotton weaving, work in stone structures, betel chewing, the oath and

[1] I have published a more extended general account of Mentawei culture, under the heading of Mentawei Social Organization, in the American Anthropologist, n.s., 30:408–433, 1928. In this account will be found mention of some of the more important German and Dutch reports on Mentawei ethnography.

ordeal, and the development of chieftaincy. In the religion of the Mentawei islanders some trace of Hindu influence can be seen in the customs of chicken and pig sacrifice, the communal meal, and the arts of divination, especially that of hepatoscopy. On the other hand, the mythology of Mentawei has remained untouched by Hindu influence.

The Mentawei islanders live in pile houses. These may be classified as follows: the *uma,* the *lalep,* and the *rusuk.* The *uma* (cf. Malay *rumah,* house) is the communal house. It is utilized as council house, trophy house for skulls collected in the hunt and those of sacrificed animals, reception house for visitors, dancing floor, and sleeping place for the men during *punen,* or religious festival. During *punen* periods the men have to keep apart from the women. The communal house is not forbidden to women, although it belongs more especially to the men. The *uma* and the surrounding family houses (*lalep*) compose the Mentawei social, political, and religious unit. Each portion of the village has its own *uma,* and each portion is spoken of as an *uma.* While each *uma* has its own *rimata,* or sacrificing priest, the government of the *uma* is in the hands of all its adult men. The priest has no jurisdiction other than religious, and that only during *punen* ceremonies.

Both the communal house (*uma*) and the family house (*lalep*) contain altars at which the livers of pigs and chickens are given in sacrifice to the spirits. While it is the *rimata* or priest who sacrifices for the souls of all the members of the community (the *uma*), it is the house father (*ukui*) who afterwards sacrifices for the members of his household. The *rusuk* is any house which does not contain an altar. These houses may be situated in the banana fields of the men, or in the village itself. When they are situated in the fields they are usually spoken of as *sapou,* or field huts. Young men, young women, and widows or widowers commonly live in *rusuk.* The *rusuk* is free from taboos, and youths can eat what they wish there, and do anything they care to. The young people hold their love affairs in the *rusuk.* Finally, an ostracized member of the community retires to a *rusuk* and plays no further part in the communal *punen.*

The food of the Mentawei islanders is chiefly fish (*iba*). Meat is also called *iba.* Meat consists of monkey, chicken, and pig. These are eaten only in communion with the spirits and on festive (*punen*) occasions. The pig, chicken, and dog (not eaten) are kept as domestic animals. Deer and monkeys are hunted with the aid of dogs. The men cultivate fields of banana trees and sugarcane. The women

grow taro in fields which are inundated. Sago is prepared for chicken food but is not eaten by the people.

The clothing worn by the Mentawei islanders is very scanty and of a primitive nature. The men wear a loin cloth made of tapa from the breadfruit tree. The remainder of their apparel is in the nature of decoration rather than clothing. Strings of red-colored rattan are worn, as well as imported glass beads and brass arm rings. The hair hangs over the left ear and is tied in a knot at the shoulder. The clothing of the women is also very simple. When they are at home in the village they wear only a strip of imported cloth around the lower portion of the body. This was formerly made of tapa. When the women go out they wear an upper dress, skirts, and hat made from banana leaves. Both men and women file their teeth and tattoo themselves. Tattooing was probably in former times closely connected with the *punen* system.

The main weapon of the Mentawei islanders is the bow and arrow. For the purpose of shooting monkeys, and in war, the arrows are poisoned with *Antiaris toxicaria*. For birds, blunted arrows are used. Spears were also formerly used in war, the iron heads being imported.

The Mentawei people believe in nature spirits, souls, and ghosts. The nature spirits are not given individual names but are referred to as "those in the sky, in the sea, in the jungle, and under the earth." There are, however, a few individual spirits. *Tetou* is a special god who causes earthquakes. The original meaning of this name is grandfather. It is because of this god that a human sacrifice was formerly made at the time of building an *uma*. There are also two special water spirits, *Inan oinan* (Mother of Rivers, or Waters) and *Kameinan*, or, in translation, father's sister. The first of these two spirits is propitious toward the people, if properly sacrificed to and provided the people have committed no ritual sin. The other spirit, *Kameinan*, is always spoken of as being evil.

The Mentawei religion, in common with other Indonesian religions, hinges on the soul concept. The Melanesian and Polynesian idea of *mana* is strikingly lacking in this cultural territory. In Mentawei the main purpose of the cult is to obtain health and long life. Disease is commonly thought to be due to the temporary absence of the soul; death, to the permanent loss of soul. The soul which leaves the body in dreams and sickness is called the *si-magere*. The soul which leaves at death is called the *ketsat*. It is this latter soul which turns into

the ghost, *sanitu*. Ghosts are always the bringers of disease, and are invariably malevolent. They are never prayed to, nor are they sacrificed to, except for the purpose of witchcraft. An exception to this rule is made when a ghost enters the village. A sacrifice is then made in order to induce the ghost to take its departure. Ghosts are avoided because they alone are primarily responsible for luring away people's souls. In order to prevent this, *kera*, or fetish sticks, are erected at all of the possible entrances to the village. These sticks prevent the approach of the ghosts as long as the people have committed no ritual sin—have broken no taboo.

People, animals, and plants have this twofold order of souls. There is, however, still another vital factor in back of all things, both of the animate, and of those which to us are inanimate. This is the spirit, *kina*. All objects have *kina*. Lifeless objects have merely *kina* to animate them, living things have both *kina* and souls. *Kina* is spoken of as the animating spirits of the souls, as *kina-si-magere*, spirits of the souls.

Along with the priest (*rimata*), the seer (*sikerei*) is the most important member of the community.[2] For since the object of Mentawei religion is the avoidance of sickness, a considerable portion of the cult falls into the hands of the seer. Moreover, it is the seer alone who has "seeing eyes and hearing ears," that is, it is he (or she) who can see and hold conversation with the spirits of the altar, and thus diagnose disease. Moreover, the ghosts are visible to his eyes alone, when they enter the village bringing death and disease. Finally it is the seer who accuses people of witchcraft. This gives him the power of removing persons who are obnoxious to him.

The purpose of the present paper is to furnish a detailed account of the religious festival (*punen*) system of Mentawei. As I have elsewhere pointed out,[3] it appears probable that the community *punen* developed out of the family religious festival, the *lia*. The *lia* is conducted by the house father (*ukui*), is of shorter duration, and is attended by the sacrifice of chickens. The *punen* is the celebration attended by all the members of the *uma*—men, women, and children. It is of longer duration, lasting sometimes for years. Both pigs and chickens are sacrificed. While it is the house father, acting as

[2] In my paper on the Mentawei medicine-man, now in press in the American Anthropologist, I have labeled the *sikerei* a seer, in order to make a distinction between inspirational and non-inspirational shamanism. The Mentawei seer is of the non-inspirational variety.

[3] Mentawei Social Organization, Am. Anthr., *op. cit.*

family priest, who conducts the *lia,* the community priest (*rimata*), aided by one or more seers, conducts the *punen.* The natives usually speak of *lia* as *punen,* but the distinction is clear. Family or personal *punen* (*lia*) are held at time of sickness in the household, marriage, adoption of children, the making of a boat or family field, etc. It may be said that all children have to be adopted, but this is done in the family itself. Among the occasions on which *punen,* or communal festivals, are held, may be included: the building of a new communal house (*uma*), the choice of a new priest, the making of a new field, the spilling of blood within the village, an epidemic in the village, when a tree falls in the community, and after the killing of a sacrificial animal—monkey, deer, or sea turtle.

A *punen* is initiated by the ceremonial washing of the hair of the participants, and the adoption of gala decorations. All work in the fields is then stopped, and strangers are denied access to the *uma.* The main ceremonial acts of every *punen* are the slaughter of pigs and chickens, accompanied by the sacrifice of the livers, and haruspication. At the time of the invocation that accompanies every sacrifice, the souls of the people of the *uma* are invoked to return and remain by their owners. During the first nights of the *punen* a dance is held by two men in the *uma.* The dance is for the purpose of pleasing the spirits, and the movements are in imitation of various birds and animals. The performers wear leaf tails in order to further the illusion. During the latter part of the *punen,* hunts for monkeys and deer are made, and large nets (*djarik*) are set to catch sea turtles. At the time of *punen* the men sleep in the *uma,* for sexual intercourse is taboo. No special ceremony concludes a *punen;* the men simply resume their fishing on the sea, the women their work in the fields.

In the accounts of the Mentawei *punen* system which follow I give in translation the words of the natives themselves as taken down by my Batak assistants. In order to keep the narrative as closely as possible to the original I will make the necessary explanations in footnotes. Some editing has been necessary for the purposes of clarity and briefness. I will begin with the ceremonies used in the founding of a new village, and the construction of a new *uma.*

FOUNDING OF A VILLAGE

An old man spoke thus, "Boys, how about it? Do you wish me to make the decision regarding starting a village on my property?"

"Yes, father. We have houses for eight families. Therefore we can start a new village."

"However, boys, I do not know the *punen* rules. This makes it somewhat difficult."

A friend of the old man then said, "Do not worry about the *punen*. If you will give the property, I will direct the *punen*."[4]

The next morning the people who were to move made a sacrifice (*lia*) and summoned their souls from out of the old *uma*.[5] Then they assembled, cooked, made bamboo bindings with which to tie up the pigs and put the outriggers on the canoes. Then they gathered together their goods and loaded them in five boats. After this they departed.

When the people arrived at the mouth of the river on which their village was to be located,[6] they landed and mounted the banks. Then they remained at the mouth of the river and made sacrifice. Chickens were killed as a greeting present to the wood spirits who lived at the place. The livers of the chickens were offered, as usual, in sacrifice—"Here is your meat, wood spirits. We have come to make a village here. You must go away. We have come here to make a village for our children."

Then the priest threw lead into the water, and charmed, "As the lead is cold, let our speech be cold (let there be no strife), O river waters. Place evil far from us, and take care of us." The people did this instead of placing *kera*[7] at the mouth of the river. Next the

[4] The man who offers to direct the *punen* will be priest (*rimata*) in the new village.

[5] Before a person leaves an old *uma* for good, and before he enters a new *uma*, a sacrifice must be made. This is for the purpose of removing one's soul from the protection of the spirits of the first *uma*, and transferring it to the protection of the second *uma*. In the present case the souls of all the people are summoned at the same time. The word here used for the souls is *otu*, meaning all the souls of the people of an *uma*. The Pageh word for the numeral 100 is *sangotu*.

[6] All the native villages in Pageh are located inland on river banks. The rivers are the sole source of water supply, and cannot be contaminated by the tides. The word *oinan* is used for either river or water.

[7] *Kera* are sacrificial bamboos decorated with floral offerings. They are placed at various points around the village in order to keep the ghosts away. I shall refer to *kera* hereafter as "fetish poles."

priest went to the center of the river, charmed, and threw in more lead.

Now the people were prepared to fix upon an exact location for the village. Finally the owner of the property made up his mind. "Boys, tie up your boats. It is here that we will make our village." The women and children remained in the boats. The men cut steps in the embankment and mounted up. They broke off some lead and put it under the steps. They also took three leaves of a certain (unnamed) tree and put them under the steps. The priest charmed, "You stay here and guard us. If ghosts come, you drive them off. You must aid us and our children."

Next the priest erected a fetish pole at the approach to the future village. He first buried some lead there. Then he drove a stick of wood into the ground, and attached beads and strips of cloth to it.[8] He charmed, "Here are your goods. We are going to remain here, you must remove yourselves far away to the woods. You go, we stay here. Here is our boundary. Take what you care to of the plants. Fly away, ghosts!"

Now the people were ready to lay out the grounds for the village. They first drew up the boundaries. Then they cleared off the underbrush and cut down the smaller of the trees. They spared the larger-sized trees. When this was finished they decided on the places where the buildings were to be erected.

The first building to be put up was the *galangang*. This was a temporary structure taking the place of the *uma*, which served as a gathering place and a storehouse for the implements of the people. In the very beginning the people also had to live in this structure. The first evening the people ate in the new structure they took care beforehand to feed the spirits who dwelt there. The people themselves ate yams, but they fed the spirits with white eggs. "Here are white eggs for you, spirits in the earth. When we eat, if any of our food drops to the ground do not be angry."

As soon as possible after the *galangang* was completed, the family houses (*lalep*) were built. When these were finished the people held *punen*. They first gathered wood and bamboo. Then they washed their hair in purification. The pigs and chickens were brought to the *galangang* and killed there. The first pigs were slaughtered by having

[8] Whole rolls of cloth are never given to the spirits. The strips of cloth which are sacrificed are either supposed to represent the whole, by containing the spirits (*kina*) of the cloth, or else the spirits are thought to be so stupid as not to know the difference.

their throats cut.[9] The blood from the carcasses was allowed to flow on the ground, encircling the place where the village was to be erected. The priest charmed, "Here are four sacrifices for you, earth spirits. You who remain under the earth are the owners of our village. If the blood from our food drips to the ground, do not be angry."

The animals were next singed and cut open. The livers were offered to *Teteu*, the earthquake god who lives under the earth.[10] The priest charmed, "This is for you alone, help us, take care of us."

The *katsaila*, the bunch of sacred plants hung above the altar, had been brought by the people from the old *uma*. Before it was placed above the new altar some of the leaves were scattered around the *galangang*. Then yams (*laiket*) were taken for sacrifice. The sacrifice was made for all the people of the *uma*. "Here is food for you, spirits of the *uma*, here are your eggs. Bless our children, take care of us. Drive out quarrels, drive out fever from our village." After the sacrifice the priest divided the yams into equal parts, one portion for every house in the village. When the house fathers (*ukui*) returned to their houses, each offered some of his share at his own house altar. The house father repeated the same prayer as the priest, only it was directed to the house spirits. Then each house father killed chickens in sacrifice. "Here is our sacrifice, spirits of the house, chickens. Make us many, so that we do not die out, but that our descendants spread out, our wives and our children. Let us spread out."

When the sacrifices and feasts were finished in the houses the men returned to the *galangang*. The remainder of the pigs were now singed and cut open and their livers inspected. If the veins in the upper portion of the livers were divided, it was considered a favorable omen for the founding of the village. The intestines of the pigs were likewise inspected for omens. When the examinations were ended the priest said, "We have finished. The tops of the livers are clear. The spirits of the village wish us to remain here. You have

[9] Chickens are commonly killed by having their necks wrung, pigs by being stabbed so that they bleed to death internally. If it can be avoided no blood is allowed to fall on the ground where the village is to be erected.

[10] *Tetcu*, or grandfather, is an important figure in Pageh mythology. According to the myth, he was the first and most powerful magician, or *sikerei*. The people became jealous of him because of his magic and determined to kill him. When they built their *uma* they sent *Teteu* down to dig under the center post. Then they let the post down on his head, imprisoning him in the ground. That is the reason why the people had human sacrifices in the old days when they built an *uma*. *Tetcu* knocked the *uma* down in revenge by an earthquake. This was the first earthquake. Nowadays if there is an earthquake, the people cry, "*Aiat kai, teteu! Aiat kai, tcteu!*" (We are here, *Teteu!* We are here, *Teteu!*), and the earthquake stops.

committed no sins.'' If the omens had not been propitious, the *punen* would have had to be recommenced from the beginning.

The pork was now cut up and the priest made the usual sacrifices at the altar. Then he divided the meat in a trough.[11] He blessed the food, holding his hands over the heads of those participating in the ceremony. ''I bless you, make abundant our meat, our brothers, our children. May there be many hands among us. Make abundant our meat. May we increase, may we have many children.''

The priest took home the first portion, then the others took home their portions. When each house father arrived home, he recut and cooked his meat. He made sacrifice and prayed, ''Here is your share, spirits of the house, the livers, the cooked taro. You that never die, do not let us (our village) die out. Let us be long lived in the village, in the house.''

The next morning the women went out to catch the small river crabs. The men brought these to the *galangang* and there sacrificed them. ''These are for you, spirits of the *galangang,* crabs which can discard their old bodies and obtain new bodies. So may we (our village) never die, but may our children spread out. May we have long lives.'' After the sacrifice in the *galangang,* the men went to their houses and again sacrificed there. In the evening they returned to the *galangang* where they gathered in the front room and talked.[12] Then those who wished to, went to sleep in the compartments along the sides. The men who were well versed in *punen* did not sleep, but stayed up all night talking over the *punen.*

The remainder of the *punen* consisted in consecrating the first works of the people. All the daily activities had to be initiated in a ceremonial manner.

The first activity consecrated was that of *djurut*-making. *Djurut* is the national drink of Pageh. It is unfermented, made from sago, coconut milk, and bananas.

After five days of *djurut*-making, the people started to clear off space for a common banana field extending on the same side of the river as the village. The priest first went to the spot where the new field was to be located and obtained some of the leaves and chips from the place where the people had commenced working. These he took home with him to the *galangang,* put them in a trough, and sprinkled water over them. This is always done with a portion of the first

[11] *Garatat,* a wooden trough divided in the center.

[12] The front room of the *galangang* or *uma* is called *laibo,* a word which also means ''to chatter.''

products of the people's labor. It is supposed to keep fever away from the people of the *uma*. The priest charmed, "Here is your bath, spirits of the *galangang*. Do not bewitch us with the leavings of that which we have cut down."

After the field had been cleared of underbrush and the smaller trees cut down, field huts (*sapou*) were erected and chicken roosts placed in the new fields. *Punen* was held for these innovations in the field huts themselves. Then sufficient banana shoots were transplanted to the fields to give the people a thousand banana trees. The first of the banana shoots had to be brought to the *galangang* to be sprinkled by the priest. "This is for you, spirits of the village. We bathe you here. When we eat bananas, you will first eat." Offerings were likewise made to the wood spirits. "This is for you, wood spirits. Bless us with many bananas. Drive away banana thieves."

Next the people made their loin cloths and then they went to gather coconuts from the uninhabited islands. After this they prepared their first sago, which, in Pageh, is mainly used for chicken food. Special sacrifices had to be made after this event, or the "Mother of Waters" would be angry because of the débris which floated off in the process.

Now the people were ready to start actual work on their field. First, however, they offered some cooked yam to a fetish pole at the field. "This is for you, these are your goods, O wood spirits. Draw your bodies away, go to the far distance, we are making a field here." In the evening the men went home to the village and waited for an omen. If there was an earthquake they had to choose another place for the field and start all over again. If there was no earthquake they started work on the field at once.

For three days the men hewed down the larger trees. Then they went out fishing on the sea. The fish were cooked and brought to the upper river for sacrifice. "Here are your fish, O wood spirits! When we eat newly caught fish in the fields, we first feed you." One of the older men then said, "Boys, friends, younger sons, older brothers! Do not swallow your fish in the field, do not gulp down coconut water. If you do, the black monkeys (*siteut*) will swallow our bananas, and the long-tailed monkeys (*atapaipai*) and the deer will swallow our taro. You, children and youths, do not court women, or I do not know what misfortune will come to us.[13] Perhaps when

[13] There is a taboo on sexual intercourse for all the people of the village from the beginning of the *punen* for founding the village until the end, a period some years in duration.

we make our fields the trees will fall on us, or we shall be bitten by snakes. Perhaps we shall be wounded by our work tools, our axes, or our knives."

Then the men cut down a broad space of underbrush. They whittled up some small sticks and placed them in the earth for the young banana trees. After this they gathered the shoots and planted them. Finally the men weeded the field.

When all this was accomplished, fetish poles were planted in the fields. "Spirits of the poles, you remain here in the field. Drive off strife and thieves. If we speak loudly, do not be angry. Guard us! Guard us!" The *punen* animals were killed as usual, the auspices taken, and the sacrifices made. The priest then said, "Go ahead, boys, and start work on our field, so that we can hear the sound of the chopping in the village." The married men now had no more to do with the work in the field, so they returned to the *uma*.

A number of sacrifices had still to be made in the *uma*. The livers of the pigs were sacrificed, and the priest prayed: "This is for you, spirits of the houses. We give you this food so that you will bless our fields. If fever comes to our fields, do not allow us to become sick. Charm the banana trees, so that they will become many." Next the legs of chickens were offered in sacrifice. "Here is our sacrificial food, the legs of chickens. Let there be many legs in our houses." The joints of the chickens were broken into pieces, and offered to *Tetcu*, the earthquake god. "Here are chicken joints for you, *Tetcu*. Drive away quarrels." They scooped up the sauce from the chickens and poured it on the ground. "We give you sauce, *Tetcu*, that we may live."

When all the sacrifices had been performed the priest shook the trough and summoned the souls of the people of the *uma*:

Konan,	konan,	kina-si-magere-mai				ta-toga-ku,	
Come,	come	spirits of souls our				of children our,	
akoi	kat-ta,	akoi	ibat-ta,				
here is	food our,	here is	fish (meat) our,				
ba	ei	kam	ka	si-katai,			
do not	go	you	to	the evil,			
ba	ei	kam	ka	bakat	loina,		
do not	go	you	to	inside	forest,		
ba	purusa	kam,					
do not	go in air	you,					

ta	ta-kom	iba	pa-kata-katai
do not	we eat	meat	spoiled

legei	si-kom-an	manjang.
the leavings	[of] food	[of] the eagle.

Tulu-ake,	tulu	tutu	ruru-mai	ta-toga-ku.
Many make,	many	be born	gathering our	our children.

"Come, come, spirits of the souls of our children! Here is our food, here is our meat. Do not wander off and be hurt, do not get lost in the forest, do not go into the air and leave us. Do not eat contaminated food, the leavings of the eagle. May our descendants be numerous.

Then the people ate.

The youths completed their work in the field, and planted sugar cane between the rows of banana trees. The *punen* for founding the village was not at an end until the banana trees bore fruit. Then bunches of the bananas were brought home, ten bunches of ripe bananas for every household, and *punen* was held over them. After this was done, "the village was correctly made," and the natives resumed their ordinary occupations.

THE MAKING OF A NEW UMA

When the people had lived in their temporary *uma* for six or seven years, they decided to put up a permanent structure. Since this entailed years of *punen*, it was the priest who made the announcement:

"You, my brothers and my children, listen to my words. The men have prepared by bringing in bananas from the fields, the women by bringing in taro in their boats. Our present dwelling place, the *galangang*, has gone bad, so we will make a new *uma* for you. But first beat out loin cloths for yourselves, let each youth beat out a roll."

The people now occupied themselves preparing for the coming *punen*. The youths prepared their gala attire, yellow tapa loin cloths, and leaf tails (*lailai*) for the dancing. Some men went out fishing, and others went to catch the sea turtle with the large nets (*djarik*). Coconuts were brought to the village in large quantities, and copra made for exchange with the Malays. It is through the sale of their copra that the people of Mentawei obtain their tobacco. The people also looked after their hatchets, fishing apparatus, and bows and arrows.

The day before the work of building started, the priest went to the lower river in order to pray to the dead forefathers. It was feared that these ghosts would be angered by the use of the hatchets in cutting down trees. The priest and his assistants hung up sacrifices on the fetish poles which had been placed as boundaries. "Let this be your dwelling place, spirits of the boundaries. Let your bodies be high up out of reach to the sky, and extend far down out of reach under the earth, lest our forefathers see us and be envious. Do not allow them to return home to us."[14]

The people returned to the village and dug a hole in preparation for letting down the center pole (*ugala*) of the new *uma*.[15] A mat of sacred leaves was first laid in the ground for the center post to rest upon.[16] "This is your dwelling place, spirits of the mat. When we lay down the foundation for our *uma*, you speak to the earth, you conquer it, you scold it." Then they let down the center post, *dru!*

The earth complained, "Oh! How you hurt my body! What are you doing?" But the mat in the earth replied, "Do not say that! The post was let fall on me. When the post falls on you, it first falls on me. If my body is not hurt, your body cannot be hurt either." The earth replied, "Very well, it is already done. Let them do as they like." The people cooked some yams, and prayed, "These are for you, spirits of the center post, these are white eggs. Stay in the earth and drive off evil omens."

In the evening the people waited for an omen. If there was an earthquake, the work had to be started over again. Otherwise the work was resumed the next morning when the men went to the upper river to cut a quantity of hard wood. They brought home with them by boat the first sixteen main pillars (*inan ugala*).[17]

The following morning the place where the *uma* was to be erected was cleared off, sacrifices to *Teteu* made in sixteen holes, and the sixteen pillars placed in position. Next the cross-beams (*pulanen*) were

[14] The poles were to be placed so high that the ghosts could not climb over them, and they were to extend so low that the ghosts could not crawl under them. The ordinary name for ghosts (*sanitu*) is too strong a name for common use, except in working witchcraft and in cursing.

[15] According to Kruyt, the priest must perform a certain ceremony before the center pole is cut in the forest. He goes through the village waving a bunch of sacred leaves. This is to prevent the following ill omens: the fall of a tree, the fall of rain, the call of a deer, the meeting with a snake. If any of these things happen, the people are delayed for a day. (A. C. Kruyt, De Mentawaiers, Tijd. Ind. Taal, Land en Volkenkunde, 61, 1923.)

[16] Formerly a human sacrifice was laid under the center post.

[17] In Indonesian languages *ina* (mother) also means principal. Thus the chief town of Pageh, Taikako, is also called Inan Lagai, or main village.

laid, and the edges leveled off. Then wooden stakes were set in the ground and the flooring (*budjuk*) placed on top.

Now the men had to go hunting in order "to strengthen" (*tugege*) the hard wood used in construction. If they obtained monkeys, their work was correct. When they returned, coconuts were sliced with the monkey meat, and the priest sacrificed. "This is for you, spirits of the monkeys which were shot. If we go out hunting again, summon your friends and let them be fat ones." The monkeys were singed, the livers extracted, and placed in bamboos. The bamboos were roasted over the fire. The priest struck the gong and the people entered the *uma*. Then amid the rolling of drums sacrifices were made. Finally the people scattered to their homes.

The priest again struck the gong and the people came back to the *uma* to eat the sacrifice. Then they departed to their homes, where they once more sacrificed and ate.

Some days later further material was obtained for the *uma*. This included cross-pieces (*pasisikou*), upright boards (*kasou*), boards for the ceilings (*parabubungan*), and small boards for filling up cavities in the building (*pasakala*). When all of these had been brought in, the people went to the woods and bathed. Then they hunted until they succeeded in shooting a monkey.

In the evening the priest made a speech to the people of the *uma*, as it was necessary to go fishing for turtle with the large sea net (*djarik*)[18] before the roof could be laid. "Brothers, children, prepare our wood, prepare our bamboo cookers, prepare our chicken food. We are going fishing." These things were then prepared. A taboo (*takeikei*) was laid on the women and children so that affairs would remain correct in the village, and the fish nets be sacred (*suru*).[19] In preparation for their fishing, the men remained in the *galangang* and repaired the *djarik*.

At mid-day the men went bathing. On their return they went to the *galangang* and sprinkled themselves. In the evening they instructed the children. "Children, while we are away fishing do not make a noise, do not shout. If you do, the spirits of the turtles will come to the village. You will hear them make a noise in the evening.

[18] The *djarik* is a coarsely woven, oblong net. When it is stretched in the sea, wooden floaters on top and stone anchors on the bottom keep it in position.

[19] In Pageh there are two words for taboo, *takeikei* and *suru*. *Takeikei* is a mere prohibition, resting however on religious grounds. Prohibitions which render an object sacred are called *suru*, and the object then becomes or remains *ma-suru* (the adjective form of *suru*).

Do not fight. Look out for the turtle spirits when you sleep in the evening."

The next morning the men took seven canoes, put outriggers on them, and loaded them with their goods and food. They also took chickens and pigs along. They went down the river and when they arrived at their field huts they tied up the boats and unloaded their goods. Then they set up a fetish pole as boundary against the ghosts of their ancestors, lest these look on at their fishing. Having set up the pole, they made sacrifice with chickens and pigs. The priest offered up the livers.

Konan	kam	Tai-ka-bagat-koat	mu-lia
Come	you	Spirits of the Sea	[we] sacrifice

kam	sita,	ai koi	ibat-ta
for you	we,	here is	meat our

sakoilo,	ai	ibat-ta	gougou.	Ai koi
pig,	here	meat our	chickens.	Here are

ogo-ta.	Ai koi	pu-saki-et-mai,
flowers our.	Here are	wares for exchange our,

ala kam	bibilet-mui.	Ku-saki-kai	
take you	goods your.	We buy	

uma-mui.	Ake kam	uma-mui
playthings your.	Give you	playthings your

ka matat	djarik-mai.
to	fish net our.

In Pageh there are two kinds of *djarik*. The small *djarik* is used only for fish at the river mouths. No *punen* sacrifices are required with this variety of net. It can be used at any time without ceremony, and a sacrifice of yams is made to this net only once, at the time of its construction.

But the large *djarik*, which is called *batau* is very sacred, and there are many taboos surrounding its use.

It is forbidden the people to take the *djarik* out of its bamboo case while it is in the *uma*, or to unroll it, or to pay any attention to it. If the people did any of these things the sea spirits would say, "Well then, since the people of the *uma* are already satisfied, we will not allow the *djarik* to catch any turtles."

While the men are out fishing with the *djarik* it is forbidden the families at home to run, or chase dogs, chickens, or pigs out of the house. If they did one of these things the turtles which were being sought by the men at sea would enter the houses and the *uma*. The families at home are also forbidden to hatch chickens. For in the same way in which the chickens break their shells and tumble to the earth, the spirits of the turtles would escape from the net, and the turtles would not be caught. The families at home are likewise forbidden to make a fire, to blow up the embers of a fire, or to lay down their sleeping mats. If they did even one of these things, the anchors of the *djarik* would pull up and the turtles would escape from the net.

There are many more taboos which must be obeyed by the families at home. They are not allowed to ram holes in the ground or plant. For the spirits of the turtles would go into the holes. It is forbidden to cut wood, lest the *djarik* become torn. It is forbidden for anyone to get down coconuts, and the house fathers are forbidden to wring out wet clothes. The turtles would fall out of the *djarik*, or the floaters and anchors would become detached from the net. It is forbidden to cut weeds or get wood, lest the spirits of what was done would go to the *djarik*, and the net be unable to see the turtles.[20]

While the men are out turtle fishing their families must remain cut off from the other people of the village. No one may come and borrow fire from a member of one of these families or even engage in conversation with a member, for fear of making the fishermen sick. It is also forbidden that anyone approach the field huts of the fishermen. Even the members of the families come under this taboo. If the taboo were broken the turtles would scatter and not enter the net.[21]

The fishermen are also under many taboos. They are not allowed to become angry. This would make the *djarik* angry, and it would say, "My body is tired, and I do not wish to make a catch. My fathers and mothers are angry." The fishermen, while on the expedition, are forbidden to bathe, wash, or oil their hair. If they did

[20] Traps and nets in Pageh are supposed to be able to make their catch by "seeing" the desired quarry. It is the spirits (*kina*) of the implement who do the seeing. Arrow quivers (*bubuk*) are especially sacred and expensive. They have bead eyes which are consecrated to the seeing of the game. The beads also draw the souls of the animals to them. One form of witchcraft is performed for the purpose of blinding the arrow quiver of an enemy.

[21] This taboo, like many others, may be broken if a chicken is offered to the spirits in sacrifice. I, myself, sometimes had to break Pageh taboos for ethnographic reasons, and nothing was said of the matter provided I paid the spirits their price.

one of these things the net would become slippery and prevent the turtles from being caught. Furthermore, the men, while engaged in this occupation, cannot even talk with one another. They may sleep at night, but they must do so with one leg extended and one leg doubled up. If they extended both legs the *djarik* would become loose from its anchor.

The process of fishing for the turtles was as follows. After the net was let fall the men waited for a day. Then they went to inspect the net. If there was no catch in the morning they went again to look in the evening. If again there was no catch, one of the married men went home and questioned a seer. The seer might say, "A non-participant of the fishing party came to the field hut. The sea spirits were displeased, and they scattered."

In this case the people had to start their *punen* again from the beginning. Once more they sacrificed pigs and chickens to the sea spirits. Then when the men went to visit the *djarik* they found a catch. They took hold of the mouth of the *djarik* and transferred the catch to the boats. After a few days they had caught a quantity of turtles, so they pulled up the *djarik* and returned to the village. As the men entered the village with their catch, they sang, "Our fish has come in. The spirits of our fish have come in. We bring long life!" Everyone decorated himself with flowers and made sacrifice of chickens. "These chickens are our sacrifice. They have sound bodies, we also wish healthy bodies."

The turtles were cut up and divided equally among the families of the *uma*. Turtle meat in Pageh is not sacred so far as the eating of it is concerned; it is only the turtles themselves which are sacred when they are being caught.[22] Therefore an outsider from another *uma* could come in and share in the food. After the people had divided the turtles they mended the fish net and put it away. There was a *punen* for the putting away of the *djarik* and chicken livers were sacrificed.

The next morning the priest cut an armful of leaves for the roof (*tobat*). He brought the armful back to the village and sacrificed yams to it.[23] "This is your food, spirits of the roof of our *uma*. Here are white eggs. They have clean bodies. We wish clean bodies. Drive off fever and epidemics from us." In the morning the men of the

[22] Börger states that turtle meat could only be given away when dried. Customs vary, however, in the different villages of Pageh.

[23] The priest must always do the first piece of work. The material from this is then sacrificed over.

uma went out to cut down leaves. They cut many and wove them. Men from other *uma* were summoned to aid in the weaving.[24]

After the roof was finished the interior of the *uma* was made. In the front room (*laibokat*) the posts were decorated with notchings (*sigatgat*). Doors (*baliu*) were made. The hearth (*purusuat*) was placed in the front room. The side boards (*lalep*) were placed in position, and finally the boards for the center and dancing room (*puturukat*).[25]

After this the people made wooden troughs (*lulak*) for dividing the meat in the *uma*, and also troughs for all the houses. They also repaired every house (*lalep*) in the village until the houses were as good as new.[26] Then the men went to sea again to catch turtles so that the *boubou* (fasteners for the roof) would work efficiently. For when the people made a *punen* for the roof, they also had to make a *punen* for the holders. When the men came back from the turtle fishing they made holes in the *boubou* so that they would pair together and laid them on the roof.

In the evening the priest said, "Brothers and children! Let us go and get rattan. We can then trade with the Malays for a gong. For if we have no gong our new *uma* will not be finished correctly." The next morning the people went up the river and gathered one or two thousand bundles of rattan for sale. Then they went to get a gong to replace the borrowed one which they had hung up in the *galangang*. Next the drums (*kateuba*) were made. "Go and cut down some sugar palms and scoop them out for our drums," said the priest. "We have already prepared the (deer or python) skins for

[24] At various times in the making of an *uma* the people receive aid from the people of other *uma*. These are paid by a share of the sacrificial animals.

[25] The various *uma* of Pageh vary in size, but they all have the same general plan. Both in front and in the rear there is a ladder (*orat*) leading up to the main floor. A third, a spirit ladder (*orat sikabuat*), leads to the front porch. Although this ladder is called a "monkey ladder" it is intended for any of the wild animals hunted. During *punen* the spirits of these animals are invoked to enter the *uma*. On the first floor of the *uma* there is a porch (*laigokat*) in the front and in the rear. The front porch is used by the men, the rear porch by women and children. The first and largest room of the *uma* is called the *laibokat*, or room to chatter in. This room contains the hearth, the skulls of sacrificed animals, and along the sides are accommodations for the men who sleep there in time of *punen*. The center room contains the boards for dancing. It is in this room that the two main altars (*buluat*) are situated. One of these altars is supposed to be male, the other female. Both sides of the center room are walled off, and on each side are living rooms (*lalep*) for private families who dwell in the *uma*. The rear room of the *uma* is called *bagat uma*, or the interior of the *uma*. This opens off to the rear porch. The upper story of the *uma* (*djaramba*) holds the utensils which belong to the community as a whole.

[26] From the beginning of the work until this time the people were forbidden to make any repairs on their houses.

them. When they are prepared put them in their place in the *uma*.'' Two log drums (*tudrukat*) were likewise made.[27] After the sound hollows were cut the *tudrukut* were placed in the upper room (*djaramba*) of the *uma*.

The fireplace was now filled in with earth. Then the ridge (*bubuk*) of the *uma* was placed along the roof, leaves placed over the ridge, and the whole made fast with the fasteners (*boubou*). In celebration of this stage of the building the entire village went bathing. When they came home they made a ''cold'' *punen* (*punen maleppet*). In this kind of *punen* the sacrifice is made as usual, but the married men and the priest eat only turtle meat, while the women, children, and youths eat chicken meat.

The main work on the *uma* being completed, the people started to make ornaments for the children who were later to be initiated (*eneget*). They strung beads (*inu*), and coiled the brass arm bands (*letsu*). They made headbands (*kirit*), leaf tails (*lailai*), and beat out the yellow festive loin cloths (*kabit kinibi*). The women sewed cloth for the girls and put red cloth with pearls attached on the seams.

The *uma* was by this time lacking in further material for sacrifice, so the people had to go to other villages and buy pigs and chickens. Some succeeded in begging a supply of these from relatives. With the return of this fresh supply to the village, preparations were at once made for further *punen*.

In the evening the priests and his assistants counted the number of pigs which they would need for immediate sacrifice. One pig had to be offered to each of the following objects: the *uma*, the gong, the skin drums, the log drum; the fetish poles in front of the *uma*, at the source of the river, at the mouth of the river, for the Mother of Waters (*Inan oinan*) at the wharf, for the wood spirits, the sea spirits, and the sky spirits.

These pigs were given over to the priest. The priest then arose and pledged the pigs to the spirits, naming the latter, so that they would know to whom the sacrifices were to go. Then each of the fathers who had children to be initiated arose in turn and spoke to the spirits of the *uma*. ''This is from us, spirits of the *uma*. We have four children (girls) to be initiated, here are four pigs as our food offering. We do this so that you will know the children and take care of them.''

[27] The Pageh people have two forms of drums, the *katcuba*, or small hand drums, and the large log *tudrukat*. The first variety is the only instrument used for dance music. The second variety is beaten as a summons for the people to enter the *uma* and hold *punen* when deer or monkey have been shot.

After sacrifices were made to all the fetish poles, the *toraidja luima* were constructed.[28] First the leaves of three sacred trees were taken as a foundation (the *obaki*, *komit*, and *patugereidjat*). Then the priest sprinkled water from sago leaves into a bamboo and placed coconut oil in the water. Next he pulled off, without counting, from fifty to a hundred perfectly round red beads, and let them fall into the water. The mixture was now stirred in a cup and lead added. The mixture inside the cup is called *lepenan*. The priest charms, "You, spirits of the *lepenan*, when the seers come to consult you, remember that *toraidja luima* is the name of your *punen* and that you are composed of beads and lead. That is your answer." The priest sprinkled the "*punen*" with water from the *katsaila*. "This is your bath, spirits of the *katsaila*. When the '*punen*' gives us advice, you agree with it. Make both of your speeches alike. Our *punen* is for both of you." They finally made a bamboo container (*keliu*) and placed the "*punen*" inside. The container was then stopped up and hung beside the *katsaila*.[29]

Thereafter the unmarried men went to the mouth of the river and cut down three fetish poles. These were to be placed on the river bank halfway between the village and the ocean. The leaves of four sacred plants were put on the poles. In addition the poles were furnished with weapons; spears, daggers, and wood from the thorny *seai* bush. One of the poles was fitted up to be the dwelling place of the Mother of Waters (*Inan oinan*) who dwelt in the water at the wharf of the village. On this pole a special gift was attached in the form of beads and arm bands bound up with red cloth.

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[28] The center post of the *uma* passes through the center or dancing room. On this post an altar is constructed, and upon the altar rests the *katsaila*. This is a bunch of leaves, including the sacred Dracaena. During *punen* the souls of the people are recalled, and they come to rest on the *katsaila*. The *toraidja luima* is a second sacred object hung on the center pole. This is also called *punen* and *batu kerebau*. The center post takes its name from the *batu kerebau*. The *toraidja luima* strengthens the life souls of the people of the *uma* and also the spirits of the *uma*, and ties the souls of the people to the *uma*. It might be called the main fetish of the *uma*. It may be hung either in the *uma* or in the house of the priest. According to Kruyt, the priest first offers sacrifice to the *silimen* (the sacrificial food itself), then to the *katsaila*, and finally to the *toraidja luima*. In reply to the questions of the seer, the responses of the *katsaila* and the *toraidja luima* must be in agreement.

[29] Börger obtained a "*punen*" from an abandoned *uma* and sent it to his missionary museum in Germany. Upon examination it was found that the "*punen*" contained nails besides the materials mentioned in the text. Nails are new articles used in modern *uma*, and the *kina-uma* (spirits of the *uma*) had to be propitiated for the innovation.

Every house (*lalep*) contains an altar and a *katsaila*, but only the *uma* needs a "*punen*."

In the morning the priest went to the mouth of the river and brought the youths to plant the poles.[30] When they had done this the priest prayed, "Remain here at the mouth of the river, spirits of the poles. If evil ghosts come, if ghosts come with knives in their hands, you drive them away. Here are spears, here are daggers, you use them as weapons for killing. Strong are the voices of the ghosts. Here are thorns of the *scai* tree. Put the thorns where the ghosts wish to rest. If they have no place to rest they will not come in. You watch our river banks, you watch our children." They dug into the earth again and buried the arm bands. "Remain here at the mouth of the river, Mother of Waters. Guard us, guard our children in the water, guard those in boats at the mouth of the river. If wicked animals (crocodiles) come in the water, you drive them off."

They drove in another pole at the center of the stream and the priest prayed, "If evil ghosts come and wish to go past the mouth of the river, not seeing the poles we have planted there, you drive them off." They rowed up and buried the arm bands below the steps on the bank leading to the village. Then they went to the upper river and planted a pole. The last pole was placed in front of the *uma*.

The final touches added to the *uma* were the *pailok*, curved sticks extending out from the ridge in front and in the rear. To the *pailok* were attached thorns of rattan. The priest charmed. "Here is your dwelling place, spirits of the thorns. If strangers come to our village, you hold them here.[31] You stick into the animals of the woods and the fish of the sea (so that they may be caught). If a boat turns over in the sea, you stick into it so that it does not drift off and the people drown."

The people went down the river and obtained some shoots of *baba*, a climbing plant. They also brought back some rattan. The *baba* and the rattan were bound together on the cross-beams in front of the *uma*. "Remain here, spirits of the *baba*. You overcome the souls (*ketsat*) of the monkeys and deer. You overcome the souls of the turtles. Be strong and overcome our food."

The priest entered the *uma* and took up the *toraidja luima*. "Here are your flowers, spirits of our '*punen*.' Take care of the poles in front of the wharf, take care of the poles on the upper river. Take care of the poles in the center of the river, take care of the poles at

[30] It will be remembered that married men are not allowed to dig in the ground.

[31] A desire to increase the size of the village by adopting strangers.

the mouth of the river. You must make them all sacred. You must take care of our children (the people of the *uma*). When the seers come and question you, tell them what makes you angry, reveal to them your wishes. Reveal to us the faults of our children. Guard us, protect us, bless us."

PUNEN FOR THE FOUNDING OF THE NEW UMA [32]

In the morning the people made a *punen* for all the souls of the *uma*. First they killed chickens. Then they took some coconuts which were just beginning to sprout. They cut these in half, bound outriggers on them, and placed sticks in them to serve as masts. The priest and the married men took these "boats" down to the river. The priest prayed, "Come, spirits of the souls of our children lost among the trees, lying around on the sea, here are your boats. Do not remain among the trees, do not remain on the sea. Here is our new *uma*, enter it. We have finished making our '*punen.*' Here is chicken meat for our food. Here are things to renew our bodies (*pulatsa*, shrimps or crabs). Come boys, come girls, renew your bodies. Come, O '*punen*' (*toraidja luima*), enter into our bodies."

The priest took the coconuts and carried them into the *uma*, and laid them under the "*punen.*" "Boys and girls, here is your beautiful dwelling place. Do not allow your souls to leave your bodies, do not let them wander from the village. You spirits of the '*punen,*' receive the souls of our children into your possession. Guard us. Protect us from epidemic and from all that is evil. Guard us from strife."

The next morning the pigs which had been received for the initiation of the children were bound to their sties. Then food was decorated with flowers in preparation for being eaten during the *punen.*

The *punen* now about to take place is called *punen kinumbu.* For this *punen* a piece of ground in front of the *uma* was fenced off, and a dancing floor was laid on this space. The dancing boards were made from bamboo which had been cut flat for the purpose. The gong and the log drums were now brought out of the *uma.* The drums were beaten, a fire lit on the hearth, and the souls of the people of the *uma* summoned.

[32] The native word for founding is *panegekat*, from root, *sege*, to arrive.

Konan, konanan maruei ekeu simagere
Come, come at once you souls

sikembukat luima-mai, simagere-ra
[of] married men [to] *punen* our, souls their

sa-mamukolui luima-mai, simagere-ra
[of] the old people [to] *punen* our, souls their

tai-nanalep, tasimaiso luima-mai,
[of] the women, of young mothers [to] *punen* our,

sapuleleku, togat, luima-mai.
friends, children, [to] *punen* our.

Konan, konanan, nu-ei-an-ekeu,
Come, come, you who have wandered away,

ai te itutu bagam pulagai-at-nu,
it is you whom we wish in [our] village your,

ka tengan luima-ta.
in the midst [of] *punen* our.

After the invocation (*sogai simagere*, calling the souls) the men who had been beating the drums came up and decorated the gong with flowers.

When the people heard the sound of the drums the children decorated themselves with flowers for the initiation.[33] The boys put on their yellow breecheloths, attached the leaf tails to their waists, and put on their headbands and bead necklaces. Then they shone in all their splendor. The fathers and mothers of the boys and girls also decorated themselves with flowers. When the people of the *uma* came to look at the performance they could scarcely recognize the initiates, so splendid were they in all their adornment.

The priest had on an ample yellow tapa loin cloth. For decoration he wore brass arm bands and headbands. He had many strings of beads around his neck, interwoven with a branch of the *kabaa* plant.

When all were prepared, the priest struck the gong in the *uma* and all the people came in. Then the parents bound the upper arms of the children who were to be initiated. The priest prayed, "We have brought in the *katsaila* (flowers on altar) to our *uma*, we have brought in the fathers to our *uma*, we have brought in the mothers to our *uma*, we have brought in the youths to our *uma*, we have brought in the children to our *uma*. We come in alive, we come in

[33] The name for initiation, *cneget*, comes from the root, *sege*, to arrive.

with well bodies.[34] Bless us, spirits of the *uma,* bless us, spirits of our '*punen,*' watch our children, guard us."

The priest took branches of the *talakukuai* plant and waved them, scattering the leaves around the *uma.* He sang, "*Talakukuai,* make healthy the wood which we have used on our *uma* and which the monkeys have scratched, make healthy the wood which was scratched by other wild animals."[35]

Then the priest blew (*burai*) on the foreheads of the boys. Afterwards he took two varieties of flowers (*son* and *njamnjake*) and blew the petals on the neophytes. After this the neophytes blew on each other, and the parents blew on the neophytes, but not on their own children. The children in turn blew on the parents, other than their own.

The priest first blessed the boys. "I blow on you, my children. May those of our children who look in the woods for food, who hunt, be happy. May they succeed. May they be diligent in obtaining their food, may they be faithful to their wives, may they not fight with other people of the *uma.* May they be strong in seizing pigs."

The priest blew on the girls with the leaves of the *sikopuk* plant, then the girls blew on one another. "This is why we blow the *sikopuk* on you, my children. That you be not irritable, that you be not angry with the people. That you be diligent in getting food, in fishing, and in scooping up fish with the *panu*" (a triangular net used by women).

The neophytes were now brought down to the river. When they arrived at the water the priest took a large-sized rooster and a large-sized hen. He wet the feet of the chickens and laid them on the heads of the neophytes. "I have made the feet of the chickens wet, so that you, the children, will never be irritable. Since water never dies, so will you also have long lives."

They mounted to the *uma,* where each child had a bunch of the Dracaena leaves stuck in his or her girdle. In eating the feast of chickens and pork which followed, the parents first ate out of the same trough as their own children, and then out of the troughs of the other children.[36]

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[34] If anyone were sick this *punen* would be delayed.

[35] It is believed that if wood from trees which have been scratched by wild animals is used, it will cause sickness, unless the wood is made whole by the charms of the priest.

[36] This established a bond between the elders of the *uma* and the children. The initiation, however, is not merely an affair of the *uma,* since children will come from other villages to share in the initiation of a new *uma.* A child not as yet initiated cannot eat with his elders the booty taken in the hunt. In Taikako, Pageh, according to Börger, a non-initiate is not permitted to be interred in the village graveyard.

When the people had finished eating in the *uma,* the priest struck the gong so that everyone should prepare for the next *punen*, which is called *punen kinumbu.*[37] The gong and the snakeskin drums were brought out to the dancing floor in front of the *uma*, and the gong hung on the enclosing fence. The dance was performed by four of the fathers of the initiated children. The gong was struck, and the drums beaten with two short strokes. The drums were struck again with long strokes and the men danced. *Teteu* who dwells inside the earth was a spectator of the dancing. A hollow bamboo decorated with flowers was stuck in the ground to serve as a means for *Teteu* to ascend to the surface of the earth. While the people were dancing *Teteu* became enraptured with the spectacle and he arose to the surface. He said, "Oh! The people have hurt my body by what they have built, so I will shake down their house. But on the other hand, the goods which they have given me are very pleasing and make me happy. Therefore I bless their *punen.*"

One of the seers saw *Teteu* when he arose to the surface. He said, "The old one has come up and gone back again. His speech was favorable. He first looked toward the mouth of the river and then toward the upper river. This was an auspicious omen. If he had first looked toward the upper river and then toward the mouth of the river he would have shown disfavor and our *punen* would have been incorrect."

The people stopped playing the gong and the drums and entered the *uma.* They took chickens and made sacrifice. "Here is your sacrifice (*lia*), O spirits of the *uma,* chickens who have light bodies. Bless us, and may our children be light with their bodies." The people scattered and made sacrifice in their houses as they had done in the *uma.* The priest struck the gong again and the people reentered the *uma* to hold *punen.* The priest took the livers of the pigs and sacrificed. "Here is your meat, spirits of the *uma.* Be happy, bless us." The sacrifices were made to the poles and to all the spirits. After the priest each of the fathers who had brought in children for the initiation arose in turn. "Here is your food, spirits of the *uma,* the livers of pigs. They have initiated our younger brothers. You make known that they are in your possession. Bless our younger

[37] This *punen* is for the purpose of calling up *Teteu*, the earthquake god. Blood is poured on the ground as a summons for the god. In the dance which follows, the dancers must tread very lightly on the ground for fear of causing an earthquake. In the midst of the dance, *Teteu* comes up through the hollow bamboo in which he lives and looks on at the spectacle performed in his honor.

brothers.'' The food then was divided up and eaten in the *uma*. While they were eating each of the men chewed a portion of the liver and then spat it out on the neophytes. ''Liver spat on children. To bless them in getting fish, to make them good at their work, to prevent them from becoming irritable.''

The next *punen* held was called *punen puotuat*, or *punen* for all the souls of the *uma*. The women went first to get river crabs. When they returned they brought the crabs to the priest. One crab was taken for every person of the *uma*. The crabs were put in a trough and cooked. Chickens were also brought in, one chicken for each person of the *uma*. The crabs and chickens were decorated with flowers and the priest struck the gong to summon the people. The priest arose in sacrifice, ''Here is your food, O spirits of the *uma*. This is for all of our souls. Bless our souls and make them a thousand [may we increase in numbers]. Here are crabs. They scratch their bodies. We also scratch our bodies. You take care of us.'' [38]

They took the chickens, singed them, and divided them equally among all of the houses.

The next *punen* held was called *kukuret uma*, or monkey chase for the *uma*. This was held the next morning, when the young men and the married men went out to hunt monkeys. The monkeys were to be caught and not shot, that is the reason for the name *kukuret*. When the men sighted a monkey they chased it and urged on the dogs. When the monkey descended from its tree the dogs chased it until it took refuge in another tree. Then the men gathered under the tree which the monkey had climbed and shook it until the monkey fell from its perch. The monkey was again chased and bitten by the dogs until it took refuge in another tree. Finally the monkey falls to the ground. Tired and exhausted by wounds it is unable to seek refuge in flight. Whether or not the men take the monkey as booty depends on the manner in which it falls from the tree. If it falls into a hole or below a rotten tree stump, it is not taken. If its bones are broken, or its tail is spoiled, it is not taken, but another monkey is sought.

As soon as a monkey had been caught in an auspicious manner it was taken to the *uma*. The priest, on seeing the men return from the hunt, rang the gong. He then took the monkey by its tail in one hand and a chicken in the other hand, and charmed, ''Here is the victim

[38] The idea, as usual, is that the people wish to be like the crabs, which change their skins but never die.

of your chase, spirits of the *uma,* a long-clawed monkey. May we bring many of his kind into our *uma.* Monkey *sipukakala* (name of the monkey), *sikakala-ake* (make the sound *kakala*). Chatter away from us all that is evil. Chicken with a soft tail (half grown), you must crow away all that is wrong." The priest stroked with the chicken the men who had brought in the monkey. "Monkey which was chased for our *uma,* there are many of your kind (in the forests). May there be many of our children in the *uma.*"

After the monkey was eaten, the skull was hung up among the cross-beams in the front room of the *uma.* "Remain here, spirit of the monkey *sipukakala.* Make the noise *kakala* if evil (ghosts) come, or epidemics (*rusa manua,* winds from the heaven). Half-grown chicken, you crow in our *uma,* crow away all that is bad." After the skull of the monkey was hung up, the soul of the chicken remained associated with the soul of the monkey on the cross-beams. If ghosts came, the soul of the chicken and the soul of the monkey chased them away with their cries. When the seers entered the *uma* they could see the souls of the monkeys and the souls of the chickens on the cross-beams[39]

From now on the people of the *uma* engaged themselves in initiating the ordinary routine.

The first *punen* held for this purpose was that of "eating in the field." The people did not really eat in the field at this time, but they held *punen* in order to make the affair permissible. The men and women went to the fields on the upper river. They brought with them chickens and wooden troughs and pounders. They killed the chickens in the field and pounded up sago as chicken food. Then they sacrificed, "This is for you, wood spirits. We are eating in this field. When we eat in this field, do not be angry. Bless our field and guard us." The people then went home and sacrificed again in the *uma* and in their homes.

The next *punen* was for the purpose of initiating fish poisoning (*sinuba*). The men pounded the bark of a tree used for this purpose and wrapped up the crushed material. Then some of the fishermen went to the upper tributaries of the river, and others to the coral reefs on the shore of the sea, where it was possible to poison fish, and

[39] Skulls of deer and monkeys are always hung up in the *uma.* The custom of hanging up the skulls of game in the communal house is more widespread than that of hanging up human heads, for it is practiced in regions where head-hunting is unknown.

here they squeezed the juice from the crushed bark into the water. The fish became stupefied and, turning over on their backs, floated to the surface. There they were gathered up. The men took their catch back to the *uma,* where the priest sacrificed. "Here is your fish, spirits of the *uma,* here is fish which has been poisoned. When we eat of the poisoned fish, we first give some of it to you. When the fish are poisoned and turn over on their backs, do not be angry, do not bring sickness to us. Bless us, guard us, spirits of the *uma.*"

Next the men went on a monkey chase, as previously described. Then they went out shooting, some with dogs and some without dogs. In this way they obtained their booty, a monkey or a deer. If they were unable to shoot an animal they came home and asked a seer to question the spirits of the *uma* and find out the cause of their wrath. After the spirits had been properly appeased by a sacrifice, the men again went out hunting. When they shot their booty, the log drum was beaten and the people called in for sacrifice and feasting.

If it was a deer that had been shot, a special sacrifice was made, for this was the first deer taken by the people of the new *uma.* A sacrifice had also to be made for all the souls of the people who had been initiated into the *uma,* one piece for each soul. When the sacrifices were finished the deer meat was cut up and divided among the different houses.[40]

Two days after the people obtained their first deer they were ready to put away the skull (*bat*). They first gathered the leaves of the following native trees: *sura, soga,* and *roroidjet.* The leaves were placed up on the cross-beams with the skull. The priest charmed, "Remain here, spirits of the deer. These flowers are your decorations. With the *soga* leaf you must call (*sogai*) your village mates, so that they come and be our meat. With the *roroidjet* leaf we rejoice (*roroi*) at the coming of your mates. Because of the *ruru* leaf your village mates will gather (*ruru*). All the leaves will place your village mates in our hands. The *bidreu* leaf will summon (*bidreu*) your village mates to serve as our food."

Up to this time the people of the new *uma* had been isolated from their neighbors. Now they prepared to hold a *punen* in order that they might visit their neighbors (*puneu musira uma*). This was said

[40] Whenever a deer is shot, a *punen* period follows which lasts until all of the deer meat is consumed. The same rule holds for monkey meat, but not for the sea turtle. These regulations are followed even after the lengthy *punen* period for the building of the new *uma* is at an end.

to be done for the purpose of "carrying over the influence of the new *uma*" (*pasira-uma uma sibau*). The people of the new *uma* walked to the neighboring *uma*, and when they arrived pigs and chickens were killed in their honor. They begged for some live pigs and chickens from their relatives of the neighboring *uma*. On arriving home, the priest struck the gong and the people entered the *uma*. The priest sacrificed. "Here is your food, spirits of the *uma*. We obtained this meat by a visit to a neighboring village. Do not be angry. Bless us, guard us, protect our children."

Now came the time for the inauguration of *djurut*-drinking[41] by the young men. They gathered in a neighboring field to make it. They apportioned among them the work of gathering the sugar cane, the coconuts, and bananas. When the *djurut* was made they drank. Then they sacrificed (by pouring a libation on the ground). One of the oldest of the unmarried men made the sacrifice. "This is for you, O spirits of the woods. This is *djurut*. When we come to make *djurut* in our fields, do not be angry."

Now came the time for the people to start in boat-building. The priest and his three assistants[42] made the first two boats. When they had finished their work they brought the boats to the *uma* and sprinkled them there. Chickens and pigs were killed and the priest sacrificed. "Here is your food, O spirits of the *uma*. We are engaged in sprinkling the newly made boats in the *uma*. When afterwards we cut many more boats, do not be angry. We have first made boats for you. Here is your meat, O wood spirits. If fever comes to your village (the woods) because we have cut down boats, do not be angry. Here is your meat in place of the trees which we have cut down."

Up to the present time while the *uma* was being built, the seers were not allowed to visit the sick and give them medicine. As soon as the first boats were built, however, the people held *punen* for the curing of the sick (*punen paërukat*).[43] In the *punen* for curing the sick the seers first entered the *uma* and questioned the altar (*buluat*).

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[41] The unfermented drink of Mentawei.

[42] Only two helpers are mentioned in my texts, and by Kruyt. These are the *sikaute lulak* (at the head of the trough) and the *sika muriat* (at the end of the trough). They are chosen in the same manner as the *rimata* (priest) by popular vote, and are equally sacred or taboo. The mention of three helpers is doubtless due to the fact that one or both of these officials may be duplicated in an *uma*.

[43] If anyone fell sick during the time that the *uma* was being constructed, the seer would not give the customary treatment. He would simply say that the sickness was due to mistakes of ritual in the making of the *uma*, or the breaking of some *punen* taboo. The sick person would then offer chickens in his own house,

Then they questioned the *buluat* in the houses. In this way they found out the causes of the sickness. The next morning sacrifices were made of pigs and chickens. After this the seers visited the various houses to give treatment to the sick.

The next thing to be started was the preparation of the sago.[44] The men first made a field hut among the sago trees and planted sugar-cane there. Then they cut down the sago trees and extracted the pith. They brought this home and placed it in hollow logs (*taptapat*) in the river. They killed chickens and pigs and the priest sacrificed, "This is for you, spirits of the *uma*. This is to sprinkle the sago which we have made. When we make sago again, do not be angry, for you have eaten of this sago. Here is your food, spirits of the poles, our protectors. If the refuse from our sago-making drifts off in the water, do not be angry. Bless us, guard us."

The priest and his three helpers next went to start clearing a near-by field. They first weeded,[45] then they planted bananas. Finally they cut down some trees. When they had finished cutting down the trees, they brought some of the chips to the *uma* and made a *punen*. This was done in order to sprinkle (*rau*) the chips.[46] The priest sacrificed, "Here is your food, spirits of the *uma*. This is to sprinkle the workings of the field. When we go to make our many [individual] fields, [do not be angry], we have done this first for you. Here is food for you, wood spirits. If fever comes to your village because we have cut down your trees, do not be angry. Bless us with many bananas, drive off your thieves [the animals of the woods which steal bananas] from our fields. Bless us." The next morning the people went out to the woods and the fields, thus ending the *punen* for sprinkling the fields.

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and later, if necessary and he were able to afford it, pigs in the *uma*. The seer took half the chickens and pigs, but shared them with the people of the *uma*. For himself he received cloth and beads. Every time that there was sickness in the village the *punen* for making or founding the *uma* would be delayed until the sick man or woman recovered or died.

44 In Pageh the obtaining of sago has to be done with *punen* and by all the people of the *uma*. In Siberut, sago is the common food of the people, just as taro is in Pageh.

45 The use of fire in clearing fields is taboo in Mentawei.

46 The writer states the reason the people of Pageh sprinkle the first workings in the *uma*: "If things were not sprinkled, the owners of the *uma*, the wood spirits and the other spirits, would say, 'The people of the *uma* make things for themselves, but they do not make things for us.' If things were to be made and not sprinkled in the *uma*, the spirits of the *uma* would be angry. All things that are made have first to be sprinkled in the *uma*."

The last thing to be sprinkled in the *uma* was rattan, used for trade with the Malays. Until the completion of the founding of the *uma* the people were prohibited from individually gathering rattan and selling it to the Malays.[47]

In preparation for gathering the rattan the men had their taro cooked by their wives. Then they bound the outriggers on their boats, placed their goods inside the boats, and went up the river. After several days they obtained some thousand or two thousand bundles of rattan. This was brought home and dried, then sold to the Malays. When the men returned home from their trade they killed pigs and chickens and held *punen*. "This is for you, spirits of the *uma*. This is for the rattan which we have taken, you sprinkle it. When we again go to trade with the Malays, do not be angry. Here is your food, spirits of the woods. If your village of the rattans [rattan field] is hungry, here is your food in place of the rattans which we have taken. Bless us, guard us."

After the sprinkling of the rattan, the entire *punen* system for the founding of the *uma* was at an end, and the people went to their fields, and fishing on the sea.

After this, if the people observed all the taboos, there would be no more trouble, and no need for further *punen*.[48] But if the people did evil (*ma-nono*), if they broke taboos at their work, or if they ate forbidden foods, then the spirits of the *uma* would become angry, and the spirits of their houses would become angry. Sickness would come, and the people would again have to hold *punen*.

The priest made the final speech, dedicating the *uma*. "Come brothers, come all of you, children, youths. Here is the *uma* which we have made. All of you engaged in consecrating (*rau*, bathing) it. Now we have made our fields. Do not do wrong, do not eat for-

[47] This prohibition was due to the fear that an individual trader might eat Malay food at a Malay house while the *punen* was still on. All trading at time of *punen* had to be done by the men of the *uma* going to the Malays in a group. In general, at time of *punen*, a man is not allowed to eat outside of his own *uma*. If necessity forces him to visit another village at time of *punen*, at meal time he will go to his boat and eat there. Eating in one's boat is considered equivalent to eating in one's village.

[48] A native told Börger that the people believed that if a native never broke a taboo (*takeikei*) and was always able to keep himself sacred (*ma-suru*), he would never have sickness and would live forever. This statement is not consistent with Mentawei beliefs, however, for sickness can come to the village through the faults of others, and, besides, an individual may be bewitched through no fault of his own.

bidden things.[49] We have been hungry, for five years long we have been making the *uma*. We often did wrong, we ate things which were taboo. So we had to stop work and make *punen*."

The helper of the priest (*sikaute lulak*, at the head of the trough) spoke next. "Boys, here is your father the *rimata* (priest). He gets diseases by your misdeeds, he gets diseases by your faults, he gets diseases by what you have done wrong. Your misdeeds go to his body; if your father dies we ourselves will have to make a *punen* for him.[50] Then, boys, we will be ashamed for our *uma*, we will be ashamed to have visitors learn about our *punen*.[51] Let the people in other *uma* learn for themselves how to make *punen*, do not allow them to come to us for instruction [let them commit their own faults and make amends by *punen*]. Long was our work, boys, because of your misdeeds, and not yet ended are our sprinklings in the *uma*. You, yourselves, are responsible. It is because of your faults. Finally, boys, do not become angry with one another. If one of you is overbearing, let the others give in. It is only in this way that we can preserve the peace. If one does not give in, the other will draw a dagger (*palitei*) from his waist, or a sword (*luggut*) from his bamboo carrier. Then there will be a murder which will cause trouble for all of us." [52]

Then a second helper of the priest spoke. "You have listened to the teachings of our father. Take heed. If we do wrong, it will surely bring sickness. Bless our work, bless all that we have done. May we not become sick, may we live to old age."

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[49] The technical expression for breaking a food taboo is *laimat ngungu*, to deceive the mouth. A partial list of Pageh taboos is given at the end of this paper.

[50] The priest is responsible for all the members of the *uma* because he holds the "*punen*" in his possession.

[51] If, for example, a crocodile bites a man, and a *punen* has to be held, the people of the *uma* are ashamed because the other villages hear about the *punen* and know that the crocodile never would have caused trouble had not the people of the *uma* committed some ritual sin.

[52] Blood spilt in the village creates a bad influence (*badju*). This word means bad influence, plus ghost contamination. It is not murder which is feared, but rather murder within the village.

VARIOUS PUNEN HELD IN THE UMA

Punen to Choose a Priest

Not many of the people wish to be chosen priest, because the man chosen as *rimata* becomes "painfully sacred." [53] Yet when a new priest is chosen, any of the house fathers who wishes may sacrifice for the occasion. The *punen* to make a priest is just as long as the *punen* for building the *uma*, it follows the same plan, and just as much has to be sacrificed. Therefore it is usual not to choose a new priest until the *uma* itself has fallen into decay and a new *uma* has to be built. At this time a new priest is chosen, and the two *punen* are run into one.

Punen at Death of Priest

If the priest dies, the people [54] wrap him up and carry him to his boat. The wife of the deceased summons the souls (*ketsat*) of the people to the *uma*. "Come, come, spirits of our souls (*kinasimagere*), do not go away, do not follow him. We fear his ghost." When the

[53] The position of priest is not hereditary, although a son or brother of a former priest is usually chosen, since *punen* knowledge is likely to be handed down in the family. Some time after the death of the priest, the house fathers come together in the *uma*, and the eldest nominates a man. This choice is unanimously agreed upon. The priest need not be an old man. Any married man who knows the *punen* rules is eligible. In case there is any dispute concerning the choice, a new candidate is brought forward. Until this is done, the eldest member of the community makes the sacrifices. The election of a new priest is usually postponed, in any case, until a new *uma* has to be built, for reasons given in the text. The helpers of the priest are chosen in the same manner as the priest. When the priest is sick, or is getting a child, the head trough man takes his place at the sacrifices.

According to Börger, the priest is in no sense a chief of his *uma*, and has no power other than the supervision of *punen* rules. According to Kruyt, however, the priest has charge of all undertakings of communal interest. He decides when the taro fields shall be made, when a new building should be put up, and when the people should go to the fields and get food. The priest drives away rain, takes the auguries, and obtains the needed herbs and leaves whose magical powers bring good luck. This list, as given by Kruyt, comprises things done at time of *punen*, so the statements of Börger and Kruyt are not in conflict.

Kruyt further states that the daily life of the *rimata* is the same as that of the other married men, since he works his own fields and builds his own house. He does not, however, go on the hunt. The priest gets no rewards for his services, except when the choice bits from the sacrifices fall to him, as custom varies from one village to another. On the other hand, he has the responsibility of seeing that the material for sacrifice is obtained and offered up in the proper manner.

A list of the special taboos of the priest is given with the other taboos at the end of this paper. In general, the priests do not care very much for their office, and an energetic man would not accept it and its many restrictions. Börger states that it is the seers and not the priests who oppose the conversion of the people to Christianity. (Kruyt discusses the *rimata* in *op. cit.*, 83 ff., 1923.)

[54] Only unmarried people are allowed to handle the dead.

bearers arrive at the burying grounds[55] they cut the fingers of the corpse at both joints, the thighs, and also the toes of his feet.[56] This is done in order to prevent the ghost from coming back to the village, looking for his people. This operation is necessary because the priest holds the souls (*simagere*) of the people of the *uma* in his possession, he is the caretaker of the "*punen.*" Therefore he could bring the souls of the people with him into the grave (*ratei*, burial grounds). If the souls (*ketsat*) of the people should say to the priest, or if the *punen* should say, "We follow you, father," then the (dead) priest would reply, "Do not come, boys, do not come, girls, you cannot come to me. My hands and feet are wounded, my thigh is also wounded. I am not able to take you and place you on my lap. Go back to the *uma*. Your mothers will be there, your fathers will be there."

It might happen, however, that the soul (*ketsat*) of the dead priest would not feel his wounds. Then he would wish to take the souls (*simagere*) of the people with him. He would wish to take the spirits of the "*punen*" with him, and the spirits of the people's food. If the dead priest did this, the people would not be able to shoot anything when they went hunting, when they went turtle fishing with the *djarik* net they would not be able to catch any turtles. Then, also, sickness would be continual in the *uma*. In case these misfortunes befell the *uma*, the people consulted with one another and prepared to make *punen*. They killed pigs and chickens and made a sacrificial meal for all the souls of the *uma*. They also prepared a meal of taro for the souls of the *uma*. All the people of the *uma*, men and women, boys and girls, enter the communal house. Then food and loin cloths are offered to the dead priest. This is done in order to induce him to give up the spirits which he has taken with him to the grave. The people now summon their souls (*simagere*) and the spirits of the "*punen.*" One of the elders sacrifices, "Here is your food, spirits of our '*punen*,' do not go to the evil place (the graveyard). He has become a ghost.[57] It is we who want you, it is we who give you food. Bless our children, guard us. Come, come, spirits of our souls, do not wander away, do not run around. Here is our beautiful *uma* as a dwelling place. We have made it. Do not leave and go to the evil

[55] The burial grounds lie upstream on the opposite side from the village. Bodies are either placed on platforms (*sigegere*) or buried in hollow graves. This depends on the wish of the pallbearers.

[56] The cutting is done to the bone. The same operation is performed on executed sorcerers.

[57] There is a taboo on the name of the dead. The name has "been carried down into the grave."

place. We are afraid of his [the dead priest's] dwelling place. We count the souls of our children in the *uma.*''

After the men have finished the sacrifice they go to the woods to test their *punen.* If they come home with a monkey or a deer, the *punen* has been correctly performed, and the people regain their confidence.

Punen for a Burnt Uma

If all of the people of the *uma* have committed very great wrongs, if they have all sinned, if the priest has also sinned, then the spirits of the *uma* bring punishment. If even then the people do not mend their ways, but keep on sinning, then the *uma* calls on the soul (*ketsat*) of the (dead) priest who had built the *uma.* ''Father, I no longer wish for life, therefore I will go to you. I have often punished the people for their sins, but they have not yet changed their manner of living.'' The *ketsat* of the priest who made the *uma* replies, ''As you wish, boy. Since you do not wish to live any longer, I will go and burn you.'' Then the *uma* burns to the ground, and the matter is finished.[58]

After the *uma* has burnt, the people say, ''We will make for you [the spirits of the *uma*] a *galangang,* so that we will not be lost to one another. ''After they have finished making this temporary communal house they fit it with an altar, make *punen,* and summon their souls (*ketsat*) from the burnt ''punen.'' ''Here is your food, spirits of the souls of our '*punen.*' Here are pig livers and chicken livers. Here is our dwelling place, we wish the beautiful [we wish to do well]. We will take care of you. Come, do not go to the bad place [the graveyard], do not leave the village. Guard us, protect us.''

Punen Held When a Coconut Tree Falls

If a coconut tree falls to the ground in the village, or if any other kind of tree falls in the village, or if the earth falls or is swept away beside the fetish poles, or if the poles themselves fall into the water or are broken off, in any of these cases an equally large *punen* has to be held. The (spirits of the) *uma* did one of these things because of the sins of the people, because of their misdeeds.

The people summon a seer and ask him to find out the cause of the anger of the *uma.* The seer goes to the altar and questions the spirits of the *uma.* ''Tell us our misdeeds, tell us what we have done

[58] It is taboo to extinguish a burning *uma.*

to offend you. We are here making *punen* for you." The spirits of the *uma* reply, "The children of the *uma* went courting, that was what we did not like."[59] Then the people who did the wrong bring their sacrifices. Each family which did wrong brings a pig and a chicken. The animals are killed and the priest sacrifices, "Here is your food, spirits of the *uma,* the livers of pigs and the livers of chickens. We do this so that you will be satisfied and pardon the faults of our children. Bless us, guard us."

Next, one of the men who committed a sin arises. "Here is your food, spirits of the *uma.* This is the liver of a pig, this food is from me. I committed the fault, but I wish to make amends. O, spirits of the *uma,* bless me, guard me, let this be an end of my wrong doing."

After the people have finished making *punen,* if no further sickness or trouble comes to the *uma,* the sacrifices are considered efficient.

Punen for Refuse Which has Drifted Off

If the people are making sago and the refuse liquid drifts off, or if refuse from any manufacturing process drifts off into the river, the people are obliged to make *punen.*[60] They do this in order to avoid the wrath of the Mother of Waters and the fetish poles in the river. If the people delayed making *punen* after contaminating the river, some misfortune would come to the village. As soon as they offer food, however, the spirits are satisfied.

Punen for a Ghost Which Comes Back

If a dead person returns to his village[61] the people first destroy his goods and cut down his banana and other fruit trees. These are

[59] It is strongly forbidden that anyone should have sexual intercourse during time of *punen.* At other times there is no harm done if the young men go to their girls in the field huts.

It will be noted that the only form of government which the people of Mentawei have is that furnished by the taboos. These are enforced by the fear of the ghosts who bring disease and trouble. A blanket indictment is made, as in the above case, and the guilty parties bring in their fines voluntarily. In the rare cases where people refuse to pay their fines, they have no choice but that of leaving the *uma.*

[60] The people of Pageh never contaminate the river waters. In this way they are very much cleaner than most Malaysians. The precaution is a necessary one, for the river waters furnish the drinking supply of the villages. An infringement of this taboo would indeed bring sickness.

[61] In case there is a great deal of sickness in a village, and the local seer is unable to handle the matter, a seer from another village will come in. This second seer is likely to say that the sickness is caused by the return of a ghost, which he alone is able to see.

for the use of the dead man.[62] Perhaps relatives had promised a payment to the spirits for recovery of the sick man. They had failed to fulfil the promise, so the dead man returns to the village seeking payment. Now the people hold *punen* and offer food to the spirits. Perhaps even then the ghost (*ketsat*) does not depart, but sickness continues in the village. Then the seer says that it is an evil *ketsat* (soul) which has come home. The people summon the seer and again make *punen,* killing pigs and chickens. Then they gather leaves from trees known to the seer, and make dancing tails from red cloth. Next they go to the mouth of the river and plant a boundary (fetish pole) with the leaves of the sacred tree. The seer charms, "Make high your body, spirits of the boundary of our village. Be out of reach to the sky, be out of reach below the ground. Then the evil ghost (*sanitu*) will not be able to see our village, the *ketsat* which has come home again."

The seer now lays down a piece of meat from the back of a pig, a piece from the kidney of a pig,[63] and charms, "Here is your meat, *ketsat* which has come back again. This is meat from the back [of a pig], turn your back on our village so that you will no longer be able to see us. Here is your meat, the kidney (*beili*) of a pig. Remove your desire (*beili*) from our village, so that you will no longer wish to visit us."

The people return home and make a *punen* in their village. They sacrifice the livers of pigs and chickens as usual. "Here is your food, spirits of the *uma*, pig and chicken livers. Drive out all that is evil. Drive out the evil *ketsat* which has come home to our village. Bless us, guard us. We who are here want you, we wish the beautiful [we desire to do the correct thing]."

If the *punen* had been held correctly, the ghost departed. If not, the seer is again summoned. The seer then questions the altar and finds out if there is any further wrong which had been concealed at the time of the first questioning. The people must continue to hold *punen* until everything is correct.

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[62] At the present time this destruction of property is always carried out in the village of Matobe, Pageh, when a prominent man dies.

[63] This is the only time when it is allowable to make a sacrifice to the ghosts. If the ghosts are sacrificed to at other times, it is done for the purpose of working witchcraft.

Börger claims that a pig's foot is also given in sacrifice at this time. This may be a local variation.

Punen for a Drowned Person

If a man ruins his work tools, or cuts his work things in anger and then throws them into the water, the Mother in front of the wharf does not like it. The spirits of the ruined work tool would say, "Oh, my body is sick, Mother. They cut me up and threw me into the water." The Mother replies, "If your body is sick, we will punish the evil doers." Then the Mother summons the crocodile (*sikoinan*)[64] so that he can take revenge for the ruined work tools. But the crocodile says, "I do not wish [to attack the men] lest they kill me. You, Mother, drown them in the river, then when they are dead I will devour them."

So the Mother of Waters waits until one of the guilty men goes alone in a boat and has no companion to come to his rescue. Then the Mother capsizes the boat and drowns the man.

In the evening the drowned man fails to return to his village and his relatives start looking for him. They search his field, but he is not there. In the morning they search the river, and finally by chance they find his body at the mouth of the river by the sea. The people pick the body up and bind it.

Next the people make a *punen* to cause the ghost to leave the village. They sacrifice pigs to the dead man, to the *uma*, to the various *kera* (poles) and to the Mother of Waters at the mouth of the river and to the Mother of Waters at the wharf. Then they sacrifice, as described before, to make the ghost leave the village. On returning to the village, the priest strikes the gong in the *uma* as a summons to sacrifice. The priest arises in prayer, "Here is your food, spirits of the *uma*, the livers of pigs and chickens. We wish to do correctly, we wish life. We are stupid to have committed sin. Forgive us our faults and bless us. Drive away all evil from our village. Drive away evil speech (the ghost)."

[64] The people believe that the crocodile was originally an old man who turned into this animal, so they call the crocodile *teteu*, or grandfather. The people will not kill the crocodile except in revenge for a death. These two ideas are widespread in Malaysia.

A FIGHT BETWEEN THE GHOSTS AND THE FETISH POLES

If the people held sacred all of their taboos, they would never be devoured by sickness, epidemics would not come to them, and the ghosts would never enter the village. If the evil ghosts come from the sea, they are barred by the fetish poles at the mouth of the river. If they go around these, the poles in the middle of the river drive them off. If even yet they pass through, then the poles in front of the wharf drive them off. If the ghosts come from the upper river, the poles at the upper river drive them off. If the ghosts come from the rear of the *uma*, all of the poles together drive them off.

This is the manner in which the poles drive off the ghosts. The evil ghosts enter from the mouth of the river. The pole guarding the mouth of the river asks, "What do you want here?"

Ghosts: We are going to the *uma* to look at the people. Then we will bring them to our village.[65]

Pole: Do not come, we do not wish you to come to our village, we are placed here on guard. We are like watch dogs. The people of the *uma* have acted correctly, they have done no wrong. They have always given us food. Because we guard them, they give us food, they give us goods.

Ghosts: No, we will enter anyway. Comrades, do not let the poles say that we cannot come in, we shall enter if we like. Let us take up our war weapons. Then the poles will really fear us, then they will allow us to enter the village.

Pole: Very well then, we will fight. Good, let us begin to fight.

(Both sides contend on equal terms for a while.[66])

Pole: Let us not fight any more, let us not kill one another. Here are my leaves, you count them.[67] After you have counted the leaves

[65] The souls of the dead live in *Sabeu Lagai*, the Big Village. In North Pageh this lies off the west coast of the island. There is a large *uma* in this village. When anyone dies a number of souls come in a large warboat, *kalaba*, to fetch the soul of the departed. When the new soul is brought to the *uma* of the dead a *punen pasabaat* is celebrated, the same as is done when a new member joins a terrestial *uma*.

Souls of sorcerers cannot gain admittance to the Big Village, but must remain outside "in *rusuk*," that is to say, must remain non-members of the village. According to Kruyt, only seers may visit the Big Village and return. (Kruyt, *op. cit.*, 185, 1923.)

[66] The fetish poles are furnished with spears, daggers, and thorns, when they are erected by the priest.

[67] The leaves consist of thorns and small bamboo hairs.

you can enter the village, get the people, and bring them to your village.

(The ghosts commence counting correctly, but they have not finished half the count before the morning comes.)

Ghosts: We cannot finish counting, we must flee. It is morning, and if the people came we would be afraid.

(The ghosts flee.)

On another evening the ghosts come again and try some other fetish poles, but without success. All the fetish poles are tried in vain. The ghosts are not allowed to enter, for the people have done no wrong.

Presently, however, the children of the *uma* fall into the ways of evil. They do not obey the taboos, and wait too long before making *punen* and sacrificing to the poles. Then when the evil ghosts come they are not driven off by the poles. The poles say, "Good! Come and seize the people, they have caused us to become sick." The ghosts enter from the river into the village. None of the poles on the way offer any resistance. So the ghosts come into the village bringing sickness with them.

THE VISIT OF THE SEER [68]

In case there is sickness in a village, a seer (*masibale sikerei*) from a different village may be called in. When the seer arrives, the people say, "Here you are, *lusai*,[69] here are our friends. It is you whom we wish to visit us. Have you no other important work to do? Nevertheless, if you will work here our wives will stop their work in the taro fields. Indeed, when we wanted someone to cure us we did not summon a seer from our own village, it was you whom we wanted. There are other seers in our village, but we placed our trust in you. There is a bad influence in our village from the sins of the youths and the old people [married people]. Cast this away from our village. The other seers, O *lusai*, did not know what to do. Our village has already made *punen* four times, and yet the bad influence has not departed from us. Now we have used up all our pigs and chickens."

[68] A complete account of the Pageh seer is being published next year (1929) in the American Anthropologist. This includes the methods by which the seers acquire their power, and the various methods of curing. The manner in which the seer pays his calls to a strange village has not as yet been written in detail.

[69] *Lusai* technically means an old person who has lost his or her father and mother. Here it is merely used as a mark of respect.

Seer: Yes, *sule* [younger people], you wish [70] me, so I will come. But while I am performing my work you must have your women stop their work in the taro fields. I will indeed come to you and throw out the bad influence from your village, I will indeed make your village right. Now you must make preparation so that no one will interfere with my work. This is indeed my message to you, the fathers, and to the remainder of you. You wished me to fix up your village, you wished me to clean up your village. Now I wish that you make ready for *punen.*''

People of the village: ''Yes, *lusai,* you wish indeed to make our village right, you wish to instruct us. Really we are tired of sickness. Our seers have departed from us [by request]. We will at once make ready for *punen.* What is the cause of the disease in our village? We indeed blame our seers, for they did not do enough for us. That is why our village wishes to have you, the village has confidence in you. When you first came to the village you spoke of the wrongs of the village,[71] that was why we summoned you. Then when we asked you to come and cure us, you did not deny our request.

The seer returned to his own village where he made preparations for his visit. He first washed his hair (*magiri*). Then he took out his bells and summoned his guardian spirits, the wood spirits (*tai-ka-leleu*) ''Give me power. My magic is uncontaminated. I go to make magic for my children, to doctor them. Bless my children.'' The wood spirits reply, ''Bless us, do not let the seer and his family become sick. Let the spirits of all the good animals come to the village and bring good luck.''

The next morning the seer and his helpers go to the jungle and gather the plants needed for the cure. Upon their return to the village, the seer takes off his shamanistic attire and questions it. ''Spirits of the chicken feathers and spirits of the breast band, we go now to gather medicine, we go to visit the sick, make mobile your bodies. If we should not go to gather medicine, if we should not go to visit the sick, do not move.'' If the seer sees his outfit move, it is an indication that it is propitious to visit the sick. If it does not move, however, then one of the patients is already dead and it would be a misfortune to visit the village.[72]

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[70] *Besi-ake.* The word *besi* implies pain. The verb means ''must have at all costs.'' When the people need chickens and pigs for sacrifice, they make use of the word *besi-ake.*

[71] The seer probably said that he saw ghosts in the village.

[72] A seer must avoid the defiling influence of a corpse.

The seer and his assistants get in their boat and pause for a moment in front of their *uma*. If a coconut falls in the rear of the *uma*, it is forbidden to go farther, for a patient has already died or else there will be a death in the village of the seer. But if a coconut falls in the front of the *uma*, it is a propitious sign and a deer will be shot as food for the village.

The party travels on to the mouth of the river and makes a speech to the fetish poles there. "*Badja* (old man), we go to perform a cure. Guard us while we travel, take care of our village while we are away." After this the party departs.

While the party is on its way, the sea spirits come to bless them. The seer addresses them, "Bless your *uma*, O spirits of the sea, we go to sprinkle our children." The sea spirits reply, "Bless you, owner of the wood spirits." When the party arrives at the mouth of the river on which the village they are going to visit is situated, the seer prays, "Bless you, poles at the mouth of the river, and the Mother in front of the wharf. Here we are with our fathers, the wood spirits. We have come to pay a visit to the village." The poles reply, "Bless you, wood spirits, for your visit. Make your medicine correctly, do your work correctly." Then the seer enters the village.

The *punen* which the village makes is a large one. First the people make sacrifice and eat. After eating, the seer goes to dance and to question the altars of the houses where there is sickness. The seer enters the first house, where he has the house father first address the altar. "Boys, spirits of the altar, here are our fathers, the wood spirits. We summoned them to determine the cause of our sickness. The disease has been sent by the wood spirits, so they really know the cause." The seer adds, "Boys, spirits of the altar, we are here. Guard us lest we make mistakes."

Altar:[73] Bless you, wood spirits, bless you, head feathers, bless you, breast band of chicken feathers, the power of the chicken.[74]

Seer: You have finished blessing our herbs, spirits of the altar. It is now proper that we should question you concerning the cause of our sickness. But first arrange your hands in the proper position, arrange your hair and your feet.[75] Thank you, spirits of the altar. Now you can speak with our fathers, the wood spirits, then you can speak with us, the owners of the altar.

[73] Only the seer is able to hear the voices of the spirits of the altar.

[74] The altar blesses the magical outfit of the seer. The chicken is especially sacred and hence its feathers give magical power.

[75] The facts which the spirits are to reveal are considered to be in material form, and as such can be concealed on the body.

Altar: Yes, seer. There is bad poison (*tae*) below our house. It is that which has given the fever to our younger brothers and to our mother.

Seer: Bless you, spirits of the altar. Your mother and your younger brothers wish that you would speak further concerning the causes of the sickness, so that your younger brothers can really go out [recover].

Altar: Yes, seer. There was also committed a fault of the hand.[76] This causes fever in my younger brothers.

Seer: Bless you, spirits of the altar. Sing of other faults which cause sickness, even though they are little ones. Complete your speech so that we may recover.

Altar: Yes, seer. My mother ruined the garbage pile.[77] She committed a wrong with her hand. So we made the family sick.

Seer: Bless you, spirits of the altar, that is indeed so. Tell us if there is any other cause of sickness, so that we will not be ashamed before the wood spirits.

Altar: There is no other fault of which I know. I have finished, I cannot repeat my words.

Seer: Bless you, spirits of the altar. Now that you have finished your speech you may let loose your hair. I see it, spirits, there is indeed nothing there. Now straighten out your feet. I see them, spirits, there is nothing there. Now extend your hands. Bless you, spirits, now I can see your entire bodies. You have concealed none of our faults from us, the wood spirits, so we will make an end of our songs. Fathers, the wood spirits, you have heard the words of the altar, our conversation is finished. We will make an end of our song, we praise you for our visit.

The seer stops his singing and goes to other houses where he questions the altars in the same manner. After this the people gather in the *uma* to sacrifice. Later the seer visits the sick to give them medicine, by bathing and massage. Finally he cleans the village from poison (*tae*). Then he gathers his payment and returns to his own village to hold *punen* with the spoils.[78]

[76] A fault of the hand (*olop kabei*) may include theft or adultery.

[77] I do not know the meaning of this taboo.

[78] A detailed description of these acts will be found in my paper, Shaman and Seer, Am. Anthr., n. s., 31, 1929.

THE DIVISION OF THE UMA

As the number of people in the *uma* increases, some of the people become discontented and leave the *uma* and go into *rusuk*.[79] When there are about ten families which have gone into *rusuk*, they begin to think about making an *uma* for themselves. Some strangers come from other villages, they also wish to join in the making of a new *uma*. Then a new *uma* is started at once. This is the reason why there is usually more than one *uma* in a village; in some villages there are as many as three or four. When the people start a new *uma* they put up fetish poles at the wharf for themselves, but not new poles in the center of the river.

PUNEN LEPA: AFTER A DEATH FROM CROCODILES OR MURDER[80]

The people do not often make *punen lepa*. This kind of *punen* is held when a person is bitten by a crocodile.

If a man ruins one of his work tools and throws it into the water, the Mother in front of the wharf becomes angry and summons the crocodile. Then the crocodile comes along in the water, making his sound, bu, bu, bu. Finally the crocodile mounts up the river bank opposite the *uma*.

The people in the village say, "Whoever cut his work tools, let him give food to the crocodile." The guilty person takes some small black chickens, singes them, and lays them down on the bank of the river above the *uma*. He summons the crocodile, "Here is your food, *teteu* [grandfather]. It was my fault. I ruined the work tools. Yet I wish to do well, I wish for life."

If the crocodile is appeased by the offering, he stops. But if the spirits of the *uma* and the spirits of the poles are unable to forgive the

[79] People go into *rusuk* either because they are forced to, or because they do not like the administration of their *uma*. A new priest cannot be chosen. If the people do not like the priest, they themselves are forced to leave. When a family is in *rusuk* it lives in a house without altar (*rusuk*). The family does not share in the *punen* of the village.

When a person leaves his *uma* he must give a pig to the spirits of the *uma* in order to have his soul removed from the list of the *uma*. In like manner, in joining a new *uma* a pig must be given and the name of the new member added to those whom the spirits of the *uma* protect. The pigs are sacrificed to the poles of the *uma*.

[80] *Lepa* means "to end." This is a very prolonged *punen*. There has been none of this variety of late years in Pageh.

people their many sins, then a person falls into the water and is devoured by the crocodile.

The people of the *uma* first proceed to avenge the murder. They set traps by the river and catch crocodiles. They visit the traps and kill the crocodiles. Then when they have killed sufficient crocodiles to satisfy their revenge, they hold *punen*. The *punen* which they hold is called *punen lepa*.

A murder in the village will also give rise to a *punen lepa*.[81] This is because the blood of the murdered man flows on the earth, causing the spirits of the village to become angry. After the murder the people of the village are forbidden to visit other villages, and people from other villages cannot come to the contaminated village. It is feared that the ghost of the murdered man will bring disease.[82] The ghost of a murdered man is just as much to be feared as the ghost of a man eaten by a crocodile. Either of these misfortunes must be expiated by a *punen lepa*.

Punen pasirokdrang: To Straighten the Village [83]

First the people make *punen* to make straight (*pasirokdrang*), or put in order, the village. They gather wood, bamboos, chickens, and other food. Then, in the morning, they wash their hair and prepare to make *punen*. The priest takes the leaves of the *sakala* plant (*Piper juvenile*) and binds them to the backs of the youths. Then he forms the head of a chain of the young men which goes around the village. As the youths walk after the priest they each hold on to the leaf tail of the man in front. The priest charms, "Spirits of the *sakala* leaf, I pull on you so that you will be strong in speech. Cut off (*sakala*) the bad blood from our village." The procession makes a circuit of

[81] The *adat* of punishment for murder is as follows. If a husband kills another man for adultery with his wife, he is not thought to have done wrong. The relatives of the murdered man are not allowed blood revenge (*luinun*). If a man is killed in a fight, however, without having done wrong, the relatives will seek revenge.

Punen lepa is only held when a murder has been committed in the village. Murder committed in the fields or jungle is a family affair, murder in the village a communal affair. In case a murder has been committed in a village, and blood revenge is to be taken, the people wait for the second killing, and then drive out the two ghosts with one *punen lepa*.

[82] Börger relates that the people of a certain *uma* were once holding *punen lepa*, but the children of the *uma* had to go to the missionary school. The parents allowed the children to go, but gave them instructions not to speak to the other children of the school.

[83] The *punen* from here to the end are all parts of the *punen lepa*.

the village pulling on the *sakala* chain. Then the youths put the *sakala* chain in a boat, bring it to the mouth of the river, and throw it in the water.

Next the priest takes the leaves of the *pasat* plant and binds it to the backs of the youths. This is pulled around the village in the same manner as the *sakala*. The priest charms, "Spirits of the *pasat* leaves, cause the bad blood from our village to pass by (*pasat*)." Then the leaves are placed in a boat and thrown into the mouth of the river.

The third plant which the priest takes is the yellow *kiniu* (curry berry). He scrapes the plant and waves it around the village. Then he goes with the youths to the mouth of the river, where he charms, "Spirits of the *kiniu*, obscure your bodies. If evil ghosts come, blind their eyes so that they will not be able to see our village."

After the priest and the youths have pulled the three plants and have thrown them into the river, the people of the *uma* gather in front of the building in order to air their bodies and to air the village.

Next a pig is killed, the liver extracted and strung on coconut tree leaves. The liver is then cooked. The fibers of the sugar palm are also taken, wrapped up in the leaves of the tree. The people go to the mouth of the river, where the priest sacrifices, "Here is your food, spirits of the evil ghost, the liver of a pig. Do not come to our village, we do not want you." The young men dig holes and the priest plants the Dracaena plant as a boundary along with the fibers of the sugar palm. The priest charms, "Spirit of the boundary, raise up your body. Make a boundary against the evil ghosts lest they see our village."

The people return home and enter the *uma*. The priest then rubs the *uma* and the people with the curry berries, saying, "This yellow is to make the spirits of the *uma* rejoice. The spirits will then bless us and keep from us all that is evil.[84]

In the evening the people gather in the *uma* where some of the men dance. The spirits of the *uma* come to see the festival, and it makes them happy.

The next morning the seers are summoned to inspect the village and find out whether it has been properly purified, that is, whether or not the ghosts have fled. The seers look, and if the *punen* has been correctly carried out, the village is purified. But if the seers say that ghosts are still present in the village and *uma*, the people have to start in all over again. They once more air and clean out the village.

[84] I have noticed that the people paint their bodies yellow at all *punen*.

Punen lagai: For the Village

In preparation for this *punen*, the "*punen* for the village," the village has been purified as described. This *punen* consists merely in sacrifice and prayer. Pigs are killed, and one pig is offered to each of the following objects: the *uma*; the village; each of the poles; one for the purification of the river; one for purification of the *uma*; one for the thrusting in of the main post of the *uma*; the "*punen*" in the *uma*; the cord holding down the roof (*saiko*); the waste water spilled from the bamboo carriers; for the ridge of the *uma;* for the farther side of the river; for the *ottouget*;[85] for the wood spirits; for the water uncle (*sikameinan*); for *Teteu* (earthquake god); and for the sky spirits. The priest takes the livers and sacrifices, "Here is your food, all of you. This is so that you know us and bless us. This is in order that you drive off all that is bad, that you drive off epidemics."

In the morning the people go to the woods to test their *punen*. If they obtain booty it is an indication that the *punen* was correctly performed.

Punen masiaro sikatai: To Carry Off Evil

In preparation for this *punen* to carry off the bad (*badju*), the people wash their hair and place outriggers on their boats. Then the priest blows on the leaves of a certain flower, the *sot lagai,* so that the bad influence (*badju*) may be carried off with the leaves. "*Lagai sot*, may the children of the *uma* be *sot* [hot, i.e., strong] on the trip, may they be strong in anger, may they be warlike." The priest takes some of the sacred leaves and summons the blood of the dead man, "Come, you spirits of the bad blood. Be carried over to Siberut,[86] do not remain in our village." The priest places all of the leaves in a canoe. The people paddle off in the boat pretending to be on their way to Siberut, carrying with them the blood of the dead man. When they come to the mouth of the river, however, they put the leaves, which bear the blood of the dead man, on their arrows. The priest charms, "Remain here, spirits of the bad blood, do not return to our village." The arrows are shot into a near-by thicket. After this some of the people return to their village and others go fishing.[87]

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[85] An *ottou* is a coconut that has been placed in water to sprout. An *outtouget punen* takes place at the time of planting coconuts. The *punen* is made to the coconuts before they are planted.

[86] Siberut is the northernmost of the Mentawei islands.

[87] In former times it was customary for the men of Pageh to make war expeditions to Siberut. These expeditions were made in the large war boats called

Punen patiti[88]*: For Tattooing*

When the people come home, they construct a porch (*soroso*) in front of the *uma*. The porch, however, is not attached to the *uma*. It is forbidden to tattoo in the *uma*, lest this building become contaminated with blood. The parts of the body tattooed are: the calves of the legs, the backs of the hands, the sides of the bodies. This tattooing is only done in *punen lepa*. The people are not correctly tattooed (finished being tattooed) until then. The blood which falls from the tattooing is for the purpose of covering the blood of the dead man. The blood of the dead man goes under the blood of the tattooed people and is lost under the earth of the village.

After the tattooing is finished the people hold *punen*. The people kill as many pigs as there were people tattooed. If there are not sufficient pigs, chickens are killed instead. This is done as a sacrifice for the tattooing. The people enter the *uma*, and the priest sacrifices, "Here is your food, spirits of the *uma*. Here are livers of pigs for the tattooing of the children of the *uma*. If the children have lost blood in being tattooed, do not make them sick. Bless us, guard us, drive off all that is evil."

Punen totopoi: For Windmills[89]

If the people stay at home and do not go to Siberut they must construct windmills. First of all, however, they make the wooden images of certain sacred animals. These are the deer, the eagle, the monkey, and the sea turtle. The images are hung in the front room of the *uma*. This is done for the purpose of beautifying the *uma*.

Next, two windmills are constructed. A pole wrapped in red cloth and called *garogaro* is rammed down in front of the *uma*. After this some men cross the river, climb a high tree, and place one of the windmills on top of the tree. *Punen* is held over the windmill in order to

kalaba. War expeditions were made for the purpose of taking revenge, and in order to obtain a victim for human sacrifice. There seem to have been two causes which required human sacrifice: the building of an *uma* and the holding of *punen lepa*. The men of Pageh simply shot the victim and then let the body lie undisturbed. They did not take the head and members, as did the natives of Siberut.

[88] *Punen* for tattooing, *titi*. In former times the variety of tattooing described above could only be done at time of *punen lepa*. Tattooing on the upper legs had to be done before marriage, however. Börger believes that originally all tattooing was connected with *punen* and had religious significance.

[89] *Totopoi* is a variety of windmill made from two cross-sections of wood. The people of Silabo (Pageh) are the only ones who still remember that their ancestors made this kind of windmill. Börger states that windmills are still made in Siberut for the founding of a new *uma*.

make it sacred. Another tree is climbed at the rear of the *uma* and the second windmill placed in position. The priest charms, "Remain here, spirits of the windmill. Blow away the evil ghosts who come from a distance. We do not wish them in our village. Drive them away."

The drums are brought out from the *uma* and the married men dance beside the *garogaro*. This is done in order to make the village appear "tasteful" at the time of the *punen lepa*. Three pigs are killed: one for the *uma*, one for the windmills, one for the eagle. The priest takes the livers of the pigs and sacrifices, "Here is your food, spirits. This is to set up the windmills of your *uma*. Here are your decorations, we make them tasteful. Here is your food, spirits of the windmills. Eat so that you be strengthened to blow away all that is evil. Here is your food, spirits of the eagle. Make the bad blood, the ghosts, and all epidemics sail away. Let all evil sail away and not remain in our *uma*."

Punen kukuret: To Chase Monkeys

In this *punen* the people chase monkeys, as described in "Founding the *Uma*." If they are able to catch three monkeys, their *punen* is correct.

Punen abak rau lepa: To Bathe Boats

The priest and his two assistants go out to make a boat. When they have finished making the boat, they hold *punen*. They kill pigs and chickens and sacrifice, "Here is your food, spirits of the *uma*. Here is your meat, spirits of the village, the livers of pigs. This is your bath for the putting away of our boats. If fever comes to the makers of boats, do not make them sick, bless us. When we go to make boats, do not be jealous."

After they have made the boats, the priest and his assistants cut the fields and bathe the leavings in the *uma*. Then they make sago and bathe the residue in the *uma*. Not until they have gone through all the acts of starting the work can the people of the *uma* go visiting. Then the *punen lepa* is at an end.

MENTAWEI TABOOS

Many of the Mentawei taboos come from the ghosts, the wood spirits, the sea spirits, and from the Mother of Waters. According to the belief of the people of Mentawei there are souls (*ketsat*) in

domestic animals, in the wild animals, in the animals which creep and crawl, in trees, and in the fish of the sea.[90] That is why the people have so many taboos.

Restrictions on Married Men[91]

(1) The house father (*ukui*) is forbidden to ram in the ground or do any planting.

(2) The house father is forbidden to kill any animals, such as pigs, chickens, or fish. He is not allowed to slash at snakes or hunt frogs. If he did these things the children would become sick.

(3) The house father cannot eat "bad food." This includes squirrels (*loga*), rats (*birut*), land and river turtles (*naning* and *toulu*). Spoiled fish is likewise taboo. If the father ate one of these things, the house spirits would be angry and make the children sick.[92]

(4) Married people are forbidden to commit adultery. This would make the spirits angry. They would kill both the elders and the children.

Restrictions on the Priest

The priest and his helpers have the same restrictions as other married men. They also have additional taboos.

(1) The priest is not allowed to hold anything burning in his hand. The unmarried men have to light his cigarettes for him. If the priest held anything hot, the influence would bring fever to the people.

(2) The priest is not allowed to carry water to the house, or feed the chickens and pigs. He goes neither hunting nor fishing.[93] The only work that he really performs is that of sacrificing.

Only the children of the priest work. If there are no children, nephews are adopted to do the work.

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[90] Furthermore, there are spirits (*kina*) in all objects.

[91] The house father is in reality the family priest, since he sacrifices at the altar in the family house (*lalep*).

[92] Anything which cannot be used as sacrificial food is forbidden the fathers as unclean (*pakatakatai*). This includes pigs and chickens which have died a natural death. All foreign foods are taboo, and so the people have no interest in keeping cattle.

[93] The priest is not allowed to fish at time of *punen* until a special party is arranged on which he goes along and sacrifices. After this he fishes with the other men during the remainder of the *punen*. The priest may go fishing as much as he wishes outside of *punen*.

The helpers of the priest are also sacred. These are the man at the head of the trough and the man at the end of the trough. The helpers are equally sacred, they can feed neither the chickens nor the pigs. But they go fishing and hunting. Neither they nor the priest receive a larger share of the quarry or the fish than the other men.

Restrictions During Pregnancy and Childbirth

(1) When a man's wife becomes pregnant he has to stop all work in the fields. He is still allowed to fish and to gather wood, however.[94] All heavy work is forbidden, such as making a boat.

(2) During the wife's pregnancy, the husband is under certain food taboos. He is not allowed to eat monkey, land turtle, or river turtle. If he ate one of these foods the spirits would become angry and make the wife sick. Then the child labor would be difficult or the child would be born dead.

(3) The husband is forbidden, during the pregnancy of his wife, to eat in the front room of the *uma*. He cannot clean food off the trough or clear away any other refuse. He is forbidden to tie knots in goods or to seal up fish. The performance of these last two acts would cause a prolonged delivery.

(4) After the child is born,[95] and while its body is still soft (until the child is from six to ten months old), the father is forbidden to approach his wife. If he did this the spirits would become angry and the child would be worried and die.

(5) The father of a young child is forbidden to do very much work, to gather wood or prepare sago. He has many food taboos, and is not allowed to eat meat or turtle. If he did the child would become sick.

(6) It is forbidden the parents to cut wood or vines, or to get water from vines. If a parent obtained water from a vine the child would become wet from frambosia, or spittle would run from his mouth.

(7) The parents are forbidden to become hasty or angry in the house. If they do so the spirits likewise become angry and bring sickness to the children. (If, nevertheless, the people of Mentawei become angry, they are forbidden to cut up their plants, their bananas, sugarcane, etc. They must not cut up their goods: the bamboo carriers, the small carrying baskets, the boats, etc. It is most strongly

[94] The restrictions hold only for the last four months of pregnancy.

[95] For taboos of childbirth, see Mentawei Social Organization, Am. Anthr., *op. cit.*

forbidden, even if these things have been cut up, to throw the ruined utensils into the water. The spirits of these things would call the water spirits, and the crocodiles would come and eat the people.)

(8) If the father goes to the woods, no matter where, and hastens in his walking, or comes to a fallen tree and steps over it, or fastens together his loin cloth, the ghosts will come and fasten onto the soul of his child.

(9) It is forbidden to take small children to a distance, lest the wood spirits call out and demand the children.

(10) The parents are forbidden to make a noise at the mouth of the river, or turn over in their boats, lest the children become sick.

(11) When parents first go to work in the fields or on the sea they must wear hats to avoid sunburn.[96] Otherwise the children would likewise become sunburnt. But the parents must not wear the hats in the villages.

(12) The mother of a young child must wear a *mengnengan* (a piece of cloth or tapa worn over the breasts). If she does not do this, the ghosts will ruin her milk, or she will become sterile.

(13) Children are forbidden to speak or cry out in the middle of the beach. This would make them sick.

Restrictions During Punen

(1) While a *punen* is being held, all the people of the *uma* are forbidden their customary work. They cannot cut weeds, plant, ram poles in the earth, fetch wood, strip rattan for rope making, make the drink, *djurut*, etc.[97] The youths are allowed to go to the fields to feed the chickens, but they cannot weed or plant there.

(2) It is especially forbidden, during the time of *punen*, for the married men to approach their wives, or for youths to go courting (*mu-silainge*). An infringement of this taboo would cause the spirits of the "*punen*" to be insulted. This would affect the altar, and produce disease. The people would have frambosia, lameness, and a wasting away of the body. The bodies both of the elders and of the children would go bad.

(3) It is forbidden to visit other villages during the time of *punen*, or to allow visitors to enter the village.[98]

[96] The hats are made from pandanus leaf.

[97] The various kinds of work have to be initiated in a ceremonial manner during the time of *punen*.

[98] Until recently this rule made it almost impossible for the ethnographer to carry out field work, since the people pass the greater part of their time in *punen*. When I visited the villages of Pageh, however, rules were greatly relaxed.

Restrictions at Time of House Building

(1) When the people build an *uma*, house (*lalep*), or field hut (*sapou*), they first shove down the poles. Before filling in the earth, they must wait a day.

(2) When the people build an *uma* or house (*lalep*),[99] it is forbidden to plant or weed the fields, to lay down sticks for sugar cane, to sew fish nets, etc. It is also forbidden the men to approach their women until after they have finished the work. Otherwise the spirits of the *uma* or of the house would be angry and burn the house. The spirits might also bring disease and kill the people.

Restrictions While Making Boats

(1) When the men are building a boat, they are forbidden to approach their wives. They are not allowed to drive stakes in the ground, to plant, or cut weeds in the fields. If they did any one of these things, the spirits of the boat would be angry and bring disease.

(2) When the men gather the wood as material for boat building, if they see white ants on the trunk or branches of the tree they are about to cut, they must not take the tree. Otherwise their heads would roll over in the same manner as the ants roll, and the men would die.

If the men see a monkey on the top of the tree which they are about to cut, and the monkey flees, they are not allowed to use the tree for their boat; for the tree would go bad, and the people in the boat would perish.

(3) When the men are constructing a scaffolding for felling a tree, or when they are gathering the material for the scaffolding, if they see a snake, it is forbidden to use the wood. If they do, they will acquire a permanent sickness.

(4) When the men cut down the tree, it has to fall in the proper way. If the tree falls sideways, or if it does not lie down straight on the ground, the wood cannot be used. If the men used this wood for their boat, they would die.

(5) If a death occurs in the village on the same day on which the men are building a boat, the work is abandoned. Otherwise the ghost would think that the workers wish him ill, and he would kill them. (In like manner, if men are engaged in peeling the Draeaena plant to

[99] At the time of building a family house, the family hold *lia*.

make mats, or if they are making tapa loin cloths, and a death occurs in the village on the same day, the men are forbidden to make use of the articles they have manufactured. These must be given away to strangers. But if the men have two or three of the same kind, they are allowed to keep one and give the remainder to strangers.)

(6) While the men are making the boat they are forbidden to cut bamboo for use in cooking their food, or to whittle down torches. If they did one of these things, the wood used in the boat would splinter off.

(7) While the men are making the boat, they are forbidden to go fishing with torches on the river, for this would make too much noise. Then later when the boat was being used, the occupants would likewise make a noise by turning over in it.

(8) While the men are making the boat they are likewise forbidden to shout, or to call to their friends to come and eat.

Restrictions While Making Fields

(1) When the men make a field, they first cut some of the weeds. If they find a snake, they are forbidden to make a field in that locality.

(2) While the men are engaged in making a communal field, they are forbidden to approach their wives. Otherwise the spirits would be angry and bring sickness.

(3) While the young men are planting, their mothers and small children are forbidden to come to the fields. Otherwise the planters would become sick.

The cause of sickness might be as follows. The relatives would eat some forbidden food, such as squirrel or coconut rat. Or the relatives might kill a snake. Then the relatives would eat out of the common trough with the youths. This would contaminate the food of the youths.

It is allowed, however, for the girls to come to the field huts and sleep with the youths while the latter are at work on the fields.

(4) While the women are making and planting their taro fields, it is forbidden the married men to go to the fields. Otherwise the planters and the children would become sick.

Restrictions on the Rivers and on the Sea

(1) It is forbidden to throw refuse or anything which is burnt into the rivers. This would make the Mother of Waters angry.

(2) It is forbidden to use water to quench fires, or to pour out heated water. This would cause internal burnings, i.e., fever.

(3) Children must be brought down to the river and bathed by their mothers during the first months after birth.[100] This is done so that the children will become acquainted with the Mother of Waters and will not stumble in the rivers.

(4) It is forbidden to poison fish at the sources of rivers on which villages are located. This would cause sickness, and the children would be poisoned.

(5) It is forbidden to lay a field at the mouth of a river on the spot where the fetish poles are located. The Mother of Waters would bring sickness if this were done.

(6) If the people make a field beside the river, they are forbidden to throw refuse into the water, or shout beside the water. It is likewise forbidden that the people sing too much when they are beside the rivers. If they do so, the Mother of Waters would believe that they were playing tricks on her, and the seer would have to come and reply to her with his songs.

Restrictions on the Hunt

(1) When the men go hunting with dogs, it is forbidden that they strike the dogs. If they do, the spirits of the "*punen*" become angry, and the people are unable to obtain any deer or monkeys.

(2) Before the men go hunting, they are forbidden to wash their hair, or to court. If they do, they will not be able to shoot well, or they will become sick.

(3) When the men go hunting, they must hunt individually, and not in a group. Otherwise the solitary monkeys which are being sought as prey will escape back to the group of their fellows.

(4) While the people are making arrow poison they are forbidden to sleep. If the people slept during this time, the monkeys they shot would remain caught above in the tree branches.

While making arrow poison, the people are also forbidden to bathe. This would dilute the poison and render it ineffectual.

[100] The mothers take their children down to the river and remain with them in the water the entire day. They only emerge for meals and when it rains.

(5) Before the men go hunting, they are forbidden to make the drink *djurut*. This would cloud the outside of the arrow containers, and the men would be unable to locate the monkeys.[101]

(6) When the men are returning from the hunt there are certain rules of conduct which must be observed by the priest. He is forbidden to sit in hiding in the darkness, or to sit alone. He must be seated at the front door of the *uma* facing the interior.

(7) After the people have obtained deer, monkey, or sea turtle, a period of *punen* follows with the customary taboos.

None of these forms of meat may be eaten alone in the houses (*lalep*). They must be shared with the other people of the *uma*. Otherwise the spirits of the *uma* would bring sickness.

(8) When the people go on a trip, they are forbidden to eat inside a house (*lalep*) lest they be bewitched. The women relatives of the men who are away are forbidden to be angry, lest the men be bitten by a snake, or pricked by the *lalatek* (a poisonous plant with thorns).

Restrictions at the Time of a Death

(1) At the time of a death, the people of the village hold *punen* for from three to six days. They are not allowed to go out to sea during this time. Otherwise the poles at the mouth of the river and the Mother of Waters would be angry. Strangers are not allowed to enter the village lest they become contaminated by the disease.

The people are also forbidden to quarrel while the village is in mourning. The Mother of Waters would become angry and make the culprits sick by driving water into them. This would cause internal swellings.

(2) On the day that the body is carried to the cemetery, there are numerous taboos. It is forbidden to pound sago for chicken food in the village or at the field on the upper river. It is forbidden to make a fire on the upper river, to go for fish on the sea, or to get taro. If one of these rules was broken, the ghost of the deceased would say, "You are not keeping your village sacred. Do you wish to have the dead reenter your village?"[102] Then the ghost would come back bringing sickness, and the people would die.

[101] It is thought that the arrow containers can locate the prey through the power of their "bead eyes."

[102] To wish that a ghost return to the village is the worst curse in Mentawei.

(3) It is forbidden for married men or women to carry or lay down the dead on the grave. The spirits would be angry and bring disease to the children.[103]

(4) If the ghost returns to the village, it is forbidden for unrelated people to visit the house of the deceased for from two to four weeks. The house must first be thoroughly disinfected (*pasibele badju*).[104] Otherwise the visitors would become sick.

(5) The pallbearers are the younger members of the family, both men and women. After the funeral they must brush themselves off with leaves. They are then taboo (*takeikei*) for a certain length of time and are forbidden to do heavy work in the house, to plant, ram in poles, cut weeds, etc. This is due to the fear that the work would be spoiled by their bad influence (*badju*).[105]

(6) It is forbidden to make a burial place near a village. This must be done at some distance, either beside the sea or on another river. If the burial place is on the same river, it must be on the opposite bank. If these rules are neglected, the fetish poles at the village and on the mouth of the river will decay.

(7) It is especially forbidden to kill or shed blood inside the village. A neglect of this rule will cause all the fetish poles of the village to bring sickness.

(8) It is forbidden to hang a person inside the village. His evil influence (*badju*) would cause the people of the village to become sick.

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[103] In former days it was very difficult to obtain unmarried people for this service. In case there were no relatives available, land had to be given as payment to the pallbearers.

Contrary to Mentawei custom, the Batak bury their dead in the village. A Batak *guru* (teacher) stationed at a Pageh village buried his dead child next to the school. A native seer claimed that he could see the ghost of the child in the village. Herr Börger was called on to correct the matter. Börger claimed that the seer was lying, since the child died a Christian, and therefore the ghost would not have wasted its time in haunting a heathen village. The people were obstinate, however, and were finally given permission to remove the body. Nothing ever came of the matter, for none of the people dared open the grave and give the corpse a reburial.

[104] This is a modernized translation of an ancient concept. The actual meaning is to "cast away the evil influence (*badju*)." The relatives brush away the *badju* with certain curative plants.

[105] A roundabout way is taken coming home from a burial. At the mouth of the river on which the village lies, the boat and contents, including the occupants, are brushed off and washed. A piece of the boat is also broken off. Kruyt believes that this is a survival of a previous custom of destroying the boat. (Kruyt, *op. cit.*, 177, 1923.)

MENTAWEI OMENS (TADROAT)

(1) If a coconut falls in front of the *uma* it is an important omen. The people of the *uma* will fall sick because the souls of the people of the *uma*, and the souls of the deer, monkeys, and sea turtles will not be able to enter the *uma*.[106] In order to prevent this, a large *punen* is held. Two pigs are sacrificed. One is offered to the *uma*, and one to the fallen coconut.

(2) Before the people of Mentawei make a *punen* they wash their hair (*magiri*). If a tree branch falls at this time it is an omen. The people have not observed the taboos of the *punen* and they will become sick. In order to prevent this, the people of the *uma* take oil in sea shells and rub it on their heads. The priest charms, "You asked for the *punen*. We oil your words [we give you a soft answer]. We chose wisely."

(3) If, while the people are washing their hair in preparation for a *punen*, there is an earthquake, it is an omen. After the *punen* there will be sickness. The severity of the sickness depends on the severity of the earthquake. The *punen* is not firm (was not correctly done).

(4) There are many omens to be observed when the people wish to travel to a distance to go crabbing or to pay a visit.

It is an omen if their boat is struck by a falling coconut. The people must wait a day or a night before their departure.

If the people hear the branch of a tree fall, or if a tree is pulled up by its roots, it is an omen. The people cannot go on their travels. If they went, their boat would surely capsize at sea, or they would fight with one another, or they would become sick and die.

(5) If, while the people are traveling to another village and are still in their boat, they see a turtle or a dolphin arise in the water in front of the boat, it is an omen that their trip will be auspicious. The people of the village which they wish to visit are not holding *punen*.[107] But if the dolphin or turtle emerges at the rear of their boat, it would be a sign that the village they were to visit was holding *punen*, and the visitors would have to turn back.

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[106] The souls of the sacred animals are invoked to mount the "monkey ladder" and enter the *uma* at time of *punen*.

[107] No outsiders are allowed in an *uma* at time of *punen*.

(6) When the people are returning from their travels, whether they are coming back from a coconut island[108] or from another village, they again watch for omens. If rains falls in front of the boat, it is a bad omen. There is either a death in the village or someone is very sick. But if the rain falls to the rear of the boat, it is a good omen. Then they hasten to enter the village, for there will be a feast of venison on their arrival.

(7) While the people are returning home, if they see a fish leap high out of the water, it is a bad omen. There has been a death in their village. If the fish springs to the left of the boat, the person who has died was not a relative. But if the fish springs to the right, the deceased was a relative.

(8) When the people are returning home to the *uma* from the upper river or from the taro fields, they watch for omens. If they hear a bird cry out *djuilat! djuilat!* in front of them, it is a bad omen. Either there is a death in the village, or someone is very sick, or there is strife in the village. But if the omen comes from the rear, it is auspicious. A feast of venison awaits the people on their arrival.

(9) On the way home from the fields, the people come to the upper river. If at that point they hear a bird cry *sat! sat! sat!* and the bird is flying toward the village, it is a bad omen. There is strife or a death in the village. But if the bird is flying away from the village. it is merely a sign that a member of the party has forgotten his work tools or something.

(10) If the men are going hunting at the source of the river, and while they are on their way they hear a bird cry *djuilat!* in back of them, it is a good omen. The men will obtain a monkey or a deer.

If the party has dogs with them, and one of the dogs sneezes, it is a bad omen. The men will not obtain any game.

(11) If the men have made a net trap for deer, and are awaiting their prey in a field hut at the head of the river, they watch for omens. It is a good omen if the *satsat* bird comes and cries *sat! sat!* and then rests for a moment where the men are sitting, after which it flies off to the front of the field hut. This is a sign that a deer has been caught in the trap.

(12) If the people are at sea fishing, or for some other purpose, and they see a dolphin tumbling in the water, it is a bad omen. This is a sign that they will obtain contrary winds.

[108] *Nusa,* small uninhabited islands which the people visit for the purpose of getting coconuts and making copra.

The following omens, read from the human body and lines of the hands, are probably borrowed from the Malay traders.

(13) If a Mentawei man or woman is holding serious conversation, and it can be seen that the skin on his knees is quivering, it is a sign that he is an adulterer.

(14) If a Mentawei man has a mole on his upper lip, it is a sign that he is a pilferer. He is successful at obtaining food on land and on sea. If the man has a mole under his eyelid, it is a sign that he has a sad disposition.

(15) If the veins on the arms of a Mentawei man or woman extend down to the hands, it is a sign that the person has a truthful nature.

(16) If the lines on a man's hands extend to the fork between the thumb and the first finger, it is a sign that he has magical power (*ma-kerek*) in shooting and in work. But if these lines are broken, the man will presently kill someone.

(17) The people examine the lines of a man's feet. If the lines are broken at their starting point, it is a sign that the man will soon die in the village. To avoid this, the man will move to a distant village.

Transmitted March 28, 1928.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Plate 69. *a*, 1, rourou, bow, of bola wood. Itek, the string, of bark of baiko tree. *a*, 2, bukbung, arrow ease, made from bamboo and ornamented with beads and white and red rattan. Logui, arrows inside ease, made from rattan, pointed with hard aribuk wood. Points poisoned with omai, *Aegiceras corniculatum* Blaneo (Myrsinaceae). *a*, 3, palaki, fish spear, made from aribuk wood. Patara, iron point of the spear, imported. Giritsisian, line attaehed to point, made from bark of bake tree, *Gnetum latifolium* Bl. (Gnetaeeae). *a*, 4, palitei, dagger with wooden sheath. Steel imported. Case kalumatei wood, handle sibulgat wood. *a*, 5, bake, piece of wood from the bake tree. Used for making string, fish string, and fish nets. See plate 1*a*, 3. *a*, 6, kirit sailimut, headdress for young men. Made from vine. *a*, 7, buket, deeoration worn over the ear by men. This one has red flower and is for married men. *a*, 8, tailikat, young man's neek deeoration, made from rattan. *a*, 9, lailai sibiktek, girdle worn by young men and women, made from rattan dyed red from neteu tree. *a*, 10, simuine bakat, spear with imported copper head. Haft from bakat wood, *Rhizophora candelaria* DC. (Rhizophoraceae). *a*, 11*a*, patiti, instrument for tattooing. Wooden stick with nail on it. *a*, 11*b*, hammer for tattooing. *a*, 11*c*, angu, reeeptaele for soot used in tattooing. *a*, 12, luga sinagiri, model of a paddle used by women, made from sibu wood. Size of original 2 m. long, 35 em. wide at broadest part. *a*, 13, luga simanteu, model of a paddle used by men, made from mantjenui wood. Size same as plate 1*a*, 12. *a*, 14, ngunguirut, model of an oar for a war boat (kalaba), made from balina wood. Size of original 150 em. long, 40 em. diameter head. *a*, 15, abere, piece of bamboo elosed at both ends. Ring of three-ply rattan braided around one end. *a*, 16, masat, model of a piece of elosed bamboo, used to store eloth, sleeping mat, etc. Size of original 150 em. in length. *a*, 17, njonjongnjong and papakpak, two models of rat traps, used in eatehing the te, a rat eaten by unmarried men. Coeonut used as bait.

b, 1, o'ore, model of a carrying basket for wood, food, or bamboo, made from rattan. Size of original 75 em. long, 30 em. eirenlar top. *b*, 2, siruidju, model of a earrying basket for fish, made from rattan. Size of original 70 em long, 50 em. eireular top. *b*, 3, long, model of a earrying basket for chiekens. Round basket with lid, made from rattan. Size of original 30em. high, 1 m. eireumf. *b*, 4, opa, model of a earrying basket for taro, used by women and made from rattan. Size of original, 40em. high, 1 m. eireumf. *b*, 5, garaga, model of a round basket for chickens or fish, made from rattan. Size of original 20em. high, 1 m. eireumf. *b*, 6, karakdjak, model of a earrying basket for eoeonuts, bananas, taro, made from rattan. Size of original 70 em. long, 150 em. eireumf. *b*, 7, model of a basket for carrying sea erabs, made from rattan. Size of original 70 em. high, 1 m. eireumf. *b*, 8, legeu, bamboo fish trap. *b*, 9, bakulu, earrying ease for eloth and tobaeeo, made from bark of sago tree. *b*, 10, patigou or tudukat sigoiso (small tudukat), small wooden xylophone, played by young people for amusement. (For deseription of tudukat, see pl. 2*a*, 5.) *b*, 11, sobbe baiko, sleeping mat for men and women, made from bark of baiko. *b*, 12, turok, rain hat made from sago leaf. *b*, 13, komang sogunei lepei, hat and upper part of woman's outdoor dress, made from wild banana leaf.

c, 1, panu, model of a triangular fishnet used by women. Net made from bark of bake tree, arms of bamboo. Size of original 4 m. broad, 3 m. long. *c*, 2, subba, model of a hand net for fishing, used by women. Rim of one piece of bent bamboo. *c*, 3, lulak, wooden trough, serves as food container. Sago and taro also pounded in this variety of trough. Pounder is called tutuduk. Made from katuka wood. *c*, 4, djarik, model of a net for catching sea turtles, equipped with floats and anchors. Size of original 50 m. long, 7 m. high. *c*, 5, sao, anchor for boat or djarik.

Plate 70. *a*, 1, golobat, reel for fishing line, made from tumung wood. *a*, 2, son patara, harpoon end, imported. *a*, 2*b*, babanute baiko, yellow loin cloth for men. The tapa is made from the bark of the baiko tree (breadfruit tree, *Artocarpus incisa*). The yellow dye is obtained from the sailu plant. The yellow loin cloth is used on festive occasions. *a*, 3, kabit baiko, dark colored tapa loin cloth for men, made from bark of breadfruit tree. *a*, 4, sarauba baiko, tapa coat for married men, worn in mourning. *a*, 5, tudukat, wooden xylophone, kept in the upper room of the *uma*, and used to summon the people to *punen*. The three logs which are beaten are made from katuka wood. The names of these, starting with the largest, are sipung, silei, toga (child). The hammer used for striking is called bobobo. The wooden support is called ugungan. *a*, 6, leppei buluk, woman's skirt for outdoor wear, made from wild banana (bago) leaves. *a*, 7, rope, made from bark of bake tree.

b, interior of *uma*, Sikaute, Pageh, showing fireplace and trophies.

c, kalaba, war boat of Pageh (model), and ngunguirut, oar. Size of original 50 mm. long, 2 m. broad.

Plate 71. *a*, Taikako, oldest village of Pageh, as it appears today.

b, Taikako, unchanged portion of village, showing *rusuk* houses and elevated bamboo walks.

c, *uma*, communal house, in Sibaibai, Pageh.

Plate 72. *a*, women bathing at Taikako, Pageh.

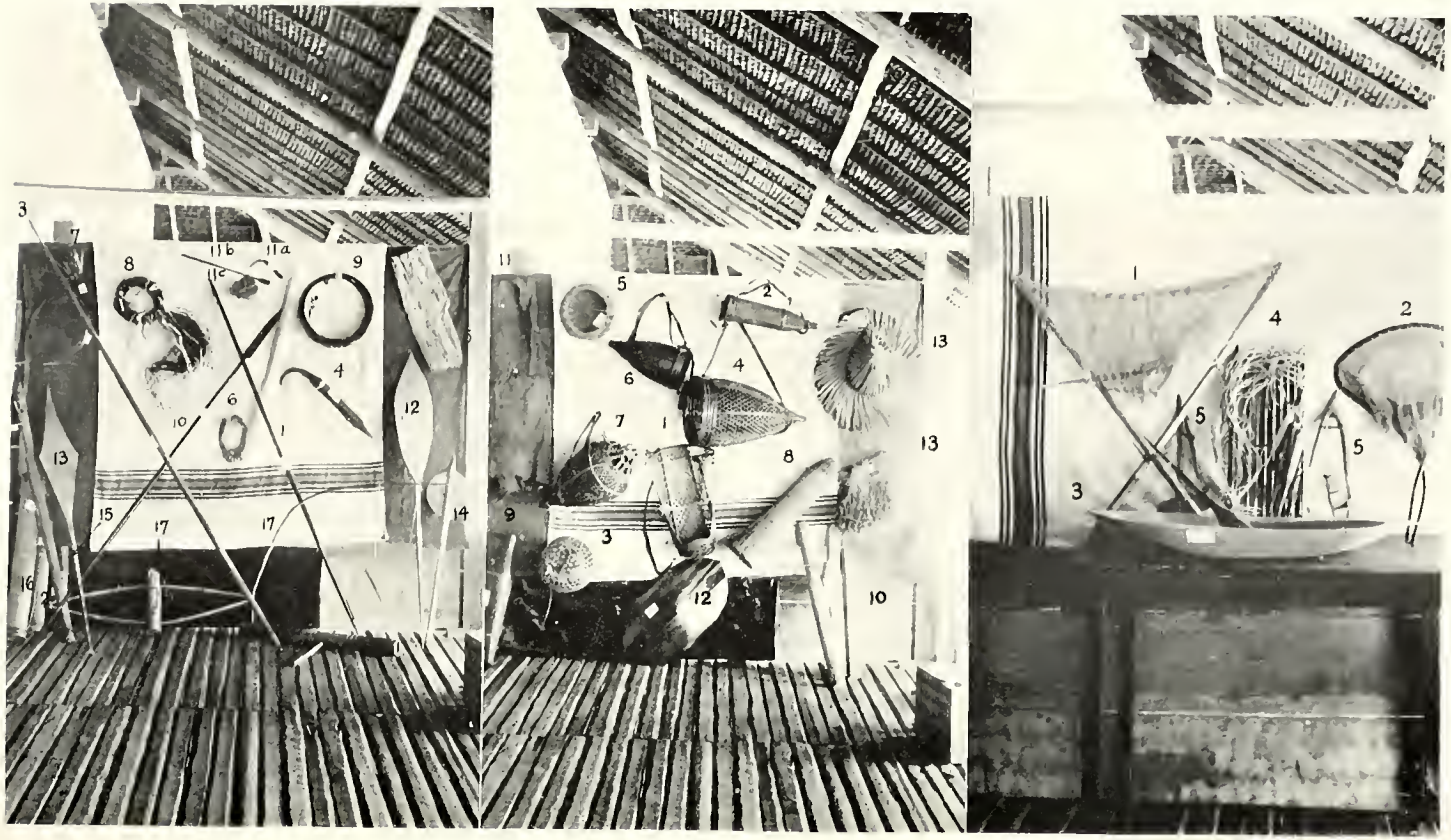
b, unmarried woman, Seai, Pageh.

c, priest of Sibaibai, Pageh, bringing chicken for sacrifice.

Plate 73. *a*, young men, Sibaibai, Pageh.

b, boy playing on wooden xylophone (tudukat sigoiso), Seai, Pageh.

c, young man carrying trough (*lulak*) filled with chicken food, Seai, Pageh.



a *b* *c*

PAGEH MATERIAL CULTURE

a *b* *c*

MATERIAL CULTURE, INTERIOR OF COMMUNAL HOUSE, WAR BOAT

a

b

c

VILLAGE, RUSUK HOUSES, COMMUNAL HOUSE

a *b* *c*

WOMEN BATHING, GIRL, PRIEST

a *b* *c*

YOUNG MEN, XYLOPHONE, CARRYING CHICKEN FEED

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